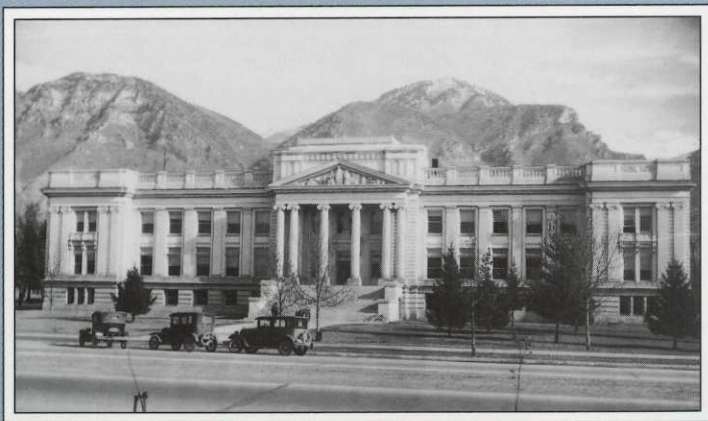


A HISTORY OF _____
Utah
County



Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

UTAH CENTENNIAL COUNTY HISTORY SERIES

A HISTORY OF

Utah

County

A HISTORY OF

Utah County

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

Utah County, with an area of about 2,140 square miles, is a place of migration. People have crossed, stayed, gave birth, lived, and died there over thousands of years. The county is also a land of contrasts—of mountains and canyons, dry and well-watered valleys, lakes and streams. The historic peoples of the land, the Native Americans and the Mormon pioneers, viewed the region as a treasure house of nature's bounty. The surrounding mountain walls did not protect either group from the political, economic, and social forces beyond the boundaries of the county during the nineteenth century, however. Yet, over time, both groups adapted and changed as a new century took the county into the modern age.

Political, economic, and cultural shifts in the small towns and larger cities in the county have reflected much of the national trends and moods at various periods. While still retaining some unique traits, the county today is in many ways integrated into the larger post-modern world, as waves of migration have flooded across the land in the twentieth century. The dramatic growth of the county (the second most populous in the state) in the last decades of the century highlights the tension between preserving the past, living in the present, and preparing for the future.

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Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

1999
Utah State Historical Society
Utah County Commission

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RICHARD NEITZEL HOLZAPFEL
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

General Introduction

When Utah was granted statehood on 4 January 1896, twenty-seven counties comprised the nation's new forty-fifth state. Subsequently two counties, Duchesne in 1914 and Daggett in 1917, were created. These twenty-nine counties have been the stage on which much of the history of Utah has been played.

Recognizing the importance of Utah's counties, the Utah State Legislature established in 1991 a Centennial History Project to write and publish county histories as part of Utah's statehood centennial commemoration. The Division of State History was given the assignment to administer the project. The county commissioners, or their designees, were responsible for selecting the author or authors for their individual histories, and funds were provided by the state legislature to cover most research and writing costs as well as to provide each public school and library with a copy of each history. Writers worked under general guidelines provided by the Division of State History and in cooperation with county history committees. The counties also established a Utah Centennial County History Council

to help develop policies for distribution of state-appropriated funds and plans for publication.

Each volume in the series reflects the scholarship and interpretation of the individual author. The general guidelines provided by the Utah State Legislature included coverage of five broad themes encompassing the economic, religious, educational, social, and political history of the county. Authors were encouraged to cover a vast period of time stretching from geologic and prehistoric times to the present. Since Utah's statehood centennial celebration falls just four years before the arrival of the twenty-first century, authors were encouraged to give particular attention to the history of their respective counties during the twentieth century.

Still, each history is at best a brief synopsis of what has transpired within the political boundaries of each county. No history can do justice to every theme or event or individual that is part of an area's past. Readers are asked to consider these volumes as an introduction to the history of the county, for it is expected that other researchers and writers will extend beyond the limits of time, space, and detail imposed on this volume to add to the wealth of knowledge about the county and its people. In understanding the history of our counties, we come to understand better the history of our state, our nation, our world, and ourselves.

In addition to the authors, local history committee members, and county commissioners, who deserve praise for their outstanding efforts and important contributions, special recognition is given to Joseph Francis, chairman of the Morgan County Historical Society, for his role in conceiving the idea of the centennial county history project and for his energetic efforts in working with the Utah State Legislature and State of Utah officials to make the project a reality. Mr. Francis is proof that one person does make a difference.

ALLAN KENT POWELL
CRAIG FULLER
GENERAL EDITORS

Introduction

WAVES OF MIGRATION: UTAH COUNTY HISTORY IN PERSPECTIVE

Utah has experienced several migrations of people across its landscape. Although the influence of these migrations was not always as large as or as significant to Utah County as it was to the rest of the state, it generally has been replicated in the county to some degree.

Some may assume that before permanent European settlement, the mountains and valleys of Utah were unchanging and quiet. Nothing could be further from the truth; many events over thousands of years—some geological, others human—helped shape the land and its people. The last major sculpting of the land, however, took place in the waning millennia of the Pleistocene era when glaciers in the Wasatch and Uinta Mountains withdrew. And Lake Bonneville, a vast freshwater lake which formed as a consequence of the cooler and wetter climate of that ice-age era and covered about 23 percent of western Utah, finally broke through the natural dam at Red Rock Pass north of Logan around 13,000 years ago. The lake dropped dramatically as a consequence, leaving physical evidence of its higher elevation etched on the slopes of the Wasatch Range. Changes in climate, a general warming and drying, continued the

trend downward for Lake Bonneville, eventually leaving isolated remnants such as Sevier Lake and Utah Lake. The former, a shallow salty sink fed by the Sevier River, is now usually dry, while the latter is full and fresh, fed by numerous Wasatch streams and drained by the Jordan River northward into the most impressive Bonneville remnant, the Great Salt Lake. Utah Lake is considered by many the most significant physiographic feature in Utah County.

The first people to walk along the shores of Utah Lake were Native Americans. We cannot be sure when native people discovered the lake, but evidence from archaeological research elsewhere in the state would argue that it had occurred by 10,000 years ago. Nor can we be sure how often early Native American populations displaced or replaced others. At some point in the past (perhaps as recently as A.D. 1300), the ancestors of the modern Utes, who were Numic-speaking people of the Uto-Aztec language family, moved into the valley. It was they who were there when early Mormon settlers arrived. Changes continued when Euro-Americans came en masse—eventually overwhelming the Ute people in the region. The Mormon pioneers, in turn, witnessed another migration from those of the dominant eastern American political-economic system. Together, the federal government and the Protestant missionaries, ministers, and teachers curtailed Mormon political and economic control in the region by imprisoning segments of the population, taking control of LDS church assets, disenfranchising the majority of the population, and nullifying many of the Mormons' laws, economic patterns, and political influence.

Utah during the nineteenth century was transformed into an American colony as eastern capitalists spread their economic model throughout the territory. Mining, railroads, and other capital ventures brought an increasing number of non-Mormons of northern European heritage to Utah County, changing again the makeup of the population. During the industrialization brought on by World War II, another surge of migration advanced into the valley to fill jobs of the growing war industry at Geneva Steel and the ancillary businesses established nearby. This group included non-Europeans such as Mexican farm laborers. Once again, after the Vietnam conflict, another large migration to the county came from Southeast Asians—

Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians—though not in as great numbers as those of earlier migrations.

Another surge of migration began in the 1970s and soon deluged the county in the 1980s and 1990s; it largely consisted of the families of Latter-day Saints returning from the out-migrations of the 1920s through the 1960s. Linked to the county by family, school experiences at Brigham Young University, or religious traditions and institutions, the returnees inundated Utah Valley in great numbers, raising housing costs, increasing pressure on schools and other public services, and ultimately pushing agriculture to the southern part of the county. Additional pressure came from ever-increasing numbers of young residents remaining in the area rather than going away to school or finding jobs outside the boundaries of Utah County.

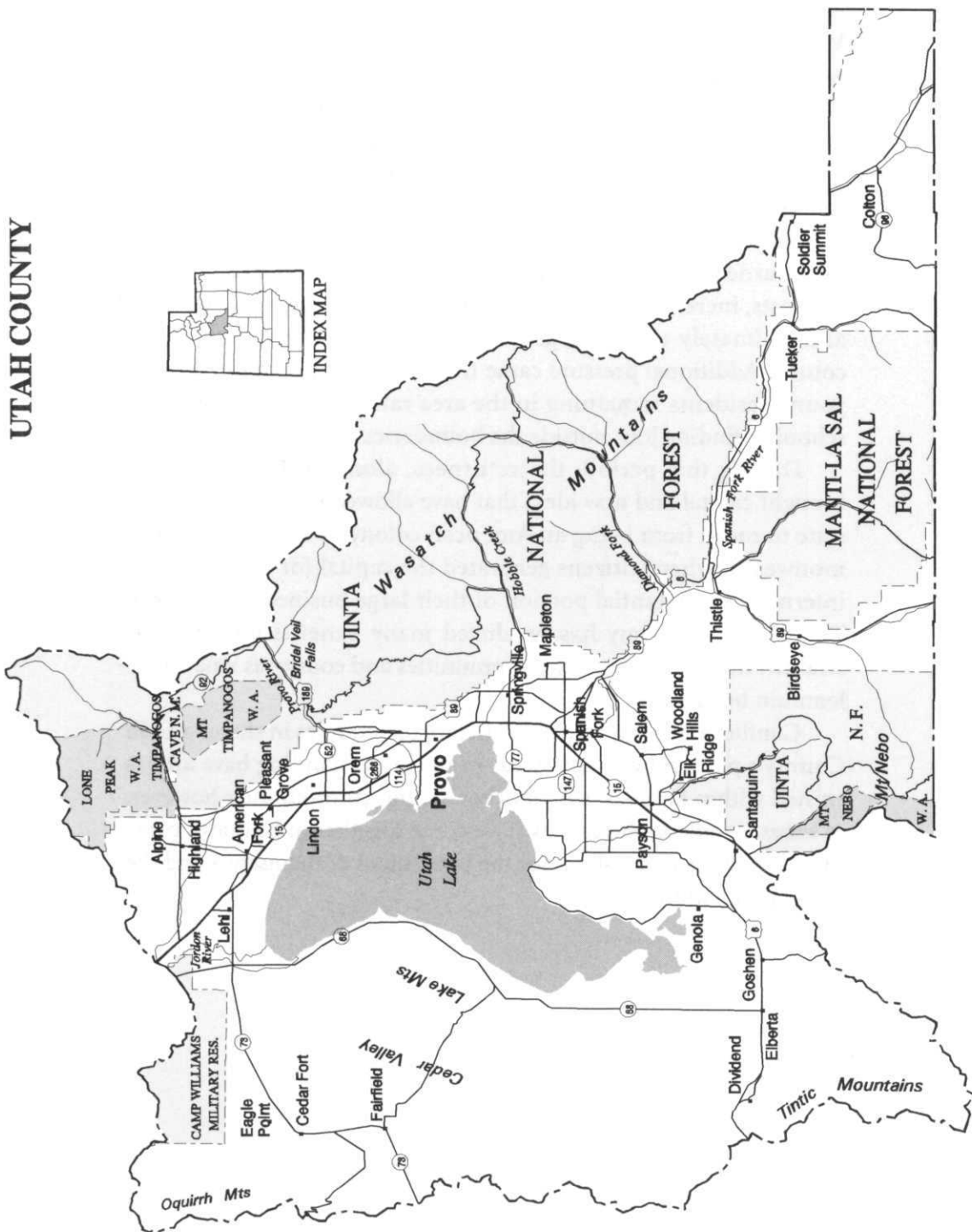
During this period, the returnees, along with others, have brought capital and new ideas that have allowed the county and the state to move from being an American colony to becoming a commonwealth where citizens generated the capital for and managed internally a substantial portion of their large business enterprises. The robust economy has produced many benefits but also has strained the resources of the communities and county as a new millennium begins.

Conflict and compromise both have played roles in shaping Utah County's past and present. Areas of misunderstanding have always existed within families, neighborhoods, and communities; however, at times, people in the county have come together in business, community service, and politics for the betterment of themselves and the larger population.

UTAH COUNTY



INDEX MAP



CHAPTER 1

THE NATURAL SETTING AND PLACE NAMES OF UTAH COUNTY

The Natural Setting

Edwin Hinckley, Provo City Chamber of Commerce secretary, wrote to the readership of the *Union Pacific Magazine* a description of Utah County in 1923:

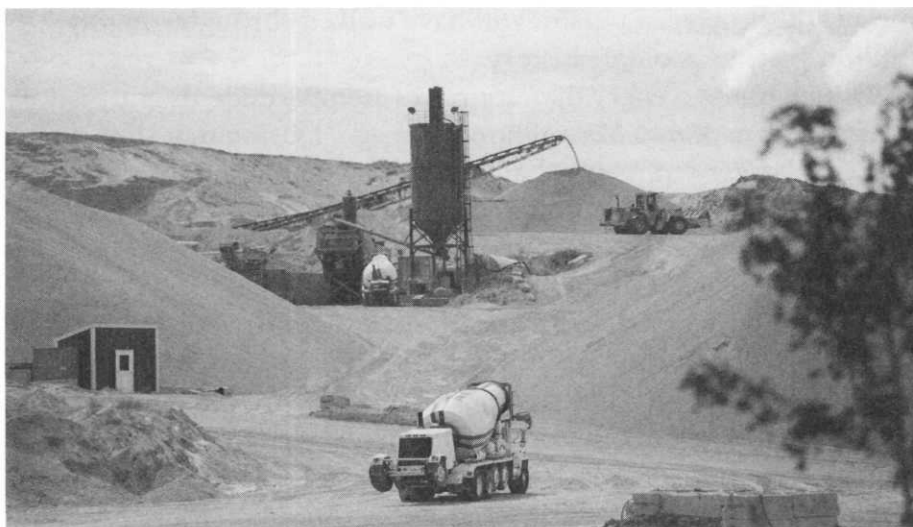
As one enters the valley from the north a marvelously beautiful panorama presents itself—gigantic peaks, crowned with snow, rise in a giant crescent above the narrow plane which slopes down to the seashore, and dotted along the plain beside every mountain stream that rushes to the lake is a town rich in everything that goes to make life happy. It is doubtful if there is a strip of land of equal acreage in the world that can produce more abundantly such a wide variety of agricultural products, where climate, soil, and water combine so perfectly.¹

Hinckley, of course, was interested in promoting Utah County's economic potential, emphasizing what he thought would attract outside capital investments and businesses to the region. Utah County, a 1,394,760-acre parcel of land shaped much like a high-top shoe, is a

land rich in natural beauty, as Hinckley stated. The county is bordered by Salt Lake, Wasatch, Duchesne, Carbon, Sanpete, Juab, and Tooele counties. Its area of 2,143.5 square miles represents 2.45% of the total of the state of Utah. It is also a land containing a diverse and complex ecosystem—a land of strong contrasts—ranging from dry desert lands on its western side to forested mountains on the east.² Because the county is north (39°45' to 40°35' North Latitude), high, and inland (110°51' to 112°13' West Longitude), its climate has four distinct seasons—hot summers, warm autumns, cold winters, and short springs. The growing season (the time between the last frost of spring and the first of fall) varies in Utah County—from Spanish Fork (163 days) and Elberta (128 days) in the southern part of the county, to Provo (173 days) and Pleasant Grove (151 days) in the central part of the county, to Lehi (133 days) and Alpine (126 days) in the northern part of the county.³ Most Utah County farmers depend upon irrigation, and most precipitation drops in the form of snow during the frosty weather of late fall, winter, and early spring. This snowfall, however, acts as a frozen water reservoir that melts in late spring and summer into the nearby watersheds, streams, and rivers.

The impressive mountains that surround Utah Valley gave the early people of the land a number of ecozones within a day's walk due to the rapid elevation changes from the valley floor to the highest mountain areas. Mt. Nebo in the Wasatch Range is the highest point (11,928 ft.) and the depression in the Jordan River flood plain, about four miles south of the Utah–Salt Lake county boundary (4,480 ft.) is the lowest. The regions provided a variety of resources used by the earliest Native Americans and later by the early pioneers, the first permanent white settlers. These features, the mountains, canyons, rivers, valleys, and lakes, dominate Utah County.

Much of Utah County's landscape is layered rocks that come in many colors and configurations and range from rocks formed more than two billion years ago to strata being laid down today. Utah County's geologic history, like its human history, is built on past events.⁴ Some of the modern manifestations of these events are represented in fossils found in the county. Sponges, corals, bryozoans (moss animals), brachiopods (like a clam with two unlike shells), gastropods (snails), and pelecypods (clams) are among the ancient sea



Sand and gravel is mined from the hills of Point of the Mountain at Geneva Rock, 1 September 1998. (Marc Lester, *Daily Herald*)

animals whose bodies were deposited on ocean floors millions of years ago.⁵

Limestone and dolomite deposits mined at Keigley Quarry near Genola are used as flux in refining operations at Geneva Steel. Formed at the bottom of ancient oceans, limestone and dolomite deposits contain the remains of decomposing sea animals, especially those with shells, settling to the bottom. In time, these sediments added up to enormous deposits. Later, as the earth's crust was pushed up and buckled, some limestone and dolomite beds ended up locally above sea level.

Timpanogos Cave in American Fork Canyon was formed in limestone deposited from the shells of sea creatures from as much as 360 to 320 millions years ago. Mildly acidic water attacked and dissolved the soft limestone, eventually creating the impressive features inside the cave. Stalactites were formed by precipitation of calcium carbonate from slowly dripping water; they hang down like icicles from the ceiling of the cave. Stalagmites are pillars of calcium carbonate deposited on the floor of the cave. Like stalactites, they were formed by the precipitation of calcium carbonate from water dripping from the roof of the cave. Walking from the visitor center to the

mouth of the cave, a person will have walked through roughly 275 million years of geologic history.

Much of the scenery that impresses county residents and visitors began to form 386 to 320 million years ago. During that time, limestone and other sediments that became the Oquirrh Mountains and the highest peaks of the Wasatch Mountains were deposited. Later, mineral-laden fluids and molten rock flowed into the existing rocks, making ore deposits of various metals.

The activity of Geneva Rock Products Company at the Point of the Mountain reveals another example of the geologic history in the region. The company quarries rock and sand from the mountain for concrete and other construction material. This material was deposited there between one million and 11,000 years ago, when wave action of ancient Lake Bonneville reworked the deltas that came into the freshwater lake, making beaches along the shoreline.

The present-day benches, left in the wake of the shrinking lake, contain rock and sand material presently exploited by Geneva Rock Products, Metro West, and Bolinder companies at the Point of the Mountain; by Western Sand & Gravel at the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon; and by Westroc Inc. at the mouth of American Fork Canyon. According to some experts, the sand and gravel at these sites on the east benches are the best in the state. As residential growth moves farther up the benches, however, the companies fear they will be forced to find other sources that will be of inferior quality. Lake Bonneville left a wonderful natural resource that has been used to build most of Utah County's commercial and residential structures.⁶

Lake Bonneville was born when Utah County's climate became cold and humid about 65,000 years ago, and the abundant snowfall froze into glaciers in the mountains.⁷ In addition to gouging canyons as they flowed downward, the glaciers gradually melted and the water poured into Lake Bonneville. The flatness of the floor of present-day Utah Valley is caused by sediments of the large inland lake, which was named after U.S. Army Captain Benjamin L.E. Bonneville. The ancient lake existed within portions of the Great Basin area of western Utah, eastern Nevada, and southern Idaho. At its greatest, the lake covered nearly 20,000 square miles, reaching a depth of nearly 1,000 feet more than its present remnant—the Great Salt Lake. Though



Sunset, Butterfield, Oquirrh Mountains. (John Telford)

considered a recent geological event, the lake came into existence as much as 70,000 years ago. During a period of 60,000 years, the lake experienced a number of fluctuations in level.

Present-day Utah Lake, as well as the Great Salt Lake and Sevier Lake, is a remnant of this ancient lake. The shoreline terraces that lie along the Wasatch Range show evidence of Lake Bonneville. Fluctuations in the level of the lake, caused by climatic changes, resulted in the formation of distinct terraces or benches on the mountainsides where the shoreline remained long enough to erode and deposit beach sediments. The highest of these benches, known as the Bonneville level, is at an approximate elevation of 5,090 feet.

Although the lake remained at the Bonneville level for some time, it eventually rose even higher until it overflowed its basin and flooded into the Snake River drainage at the north end of Cache Valley. The resultant rapid downcutting of the outlet lowered Lake Bonneville about 300 feet. Following the overflow, the ancient lake

created the Provo level (named after French-Canadian fur trader Etienne Provost) when it again stabilized below the Bonneville level. As the level of the ancient lake later continued to decline, Lake Bonneville eventually reached another relative standstill, resulting in the Stansbury level (named after U.S. military engineer Howard Stansbury). The Stansbury Bench is approximately 400 feet below the Provo Bench. After the Stansbury stage, the lake continued to shrink, leaving the Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake as modern remnants.

In Utah County, three major physiographic provinces of the western United States meet. The western half of the county, comprising Utah, Goshen, and Cedar Valleys and the mountains separating them, lies within the Great Basin, or the Basin and Range Province. The eastern part of the county is mountainous and belongs to the Middle Rocky Mountain Province. Closely associated with the mountains is a less extensive (in the county) province—the Colorado Plateau Province—situated in the southeastern portion of the county.

The Middle Rocky Mountain Province contains the Wasatch Mountains, which extend some 200 miles from the northern border of the state to Nephi in central Utah and feature several peaks in excess of 10,000 feet, including the highest, Mount Nebo (11,928 feet), located on the border of Utah and Juab Counties. Utah County has several other high peaks including Timpanogos (11,750 feet), Lone Peak (11,253), Provo Peak (11,068), Bald Mountain (10,913), Cascade Mountain (10,908), Loafer Mountain (10,687), and Spanish Fork Peak (10,192). The level of Utah Lake is about 4,500 feet above sea level, so the rise from valley bottom to the mountain peaks is rather abrupt, with about 1.5 miles of vertical rise in about ten miles.

The Basin and Range Province is part of America's wide western desert. Much of Utah County's population lives at the eastern edge of the region, near the mountains and plateaus, in the smaller but still immense region known as the Great Basin, which has no outlet to the sea. The basin is like a large, flat-bottomed bowl; streams and rivers from the mountains run to the valley floors. Although much of the Great Basin is a desert, Utah County, especially in areas near the mountains and plateaus, is fertile and, with the help of irrigation, has been successfully used to grow crops.

The Colorado Plateau Province includes southeastern Utah. The



Poplar Trees, Traverse Mountains. (John Telford)

waters of this province flow into the Colorado River, and it includes High Plateau in Utah County.

The mountains on the west side of Utah Valley are lower than those on the east. The highest peak in the Lake Mountains is Wanlass Hill, at 5,675 feet above sea level. West Mountain is 6,904 feet above sea level. West of West Mountain are the East Tintic Mountains, which have a high point of 8,218 feet above sea level southwest of Elberta.

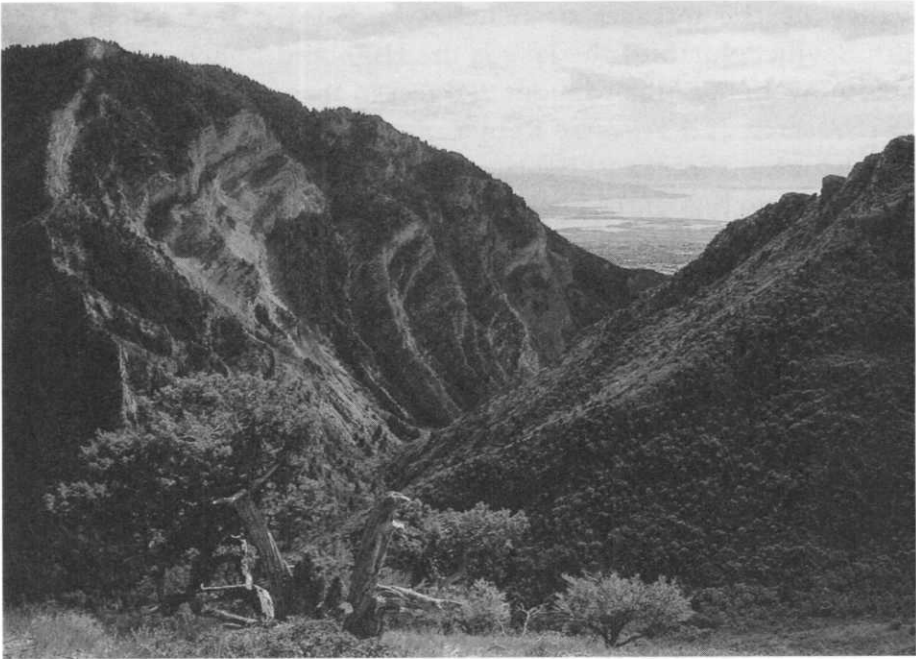
The precipitous western face of the Wasatch Range in Utah County is dissected by the three major canyons of the American Fork River, Provo River, and Spanish Fork River. Provo and Spanish Fork Canyons provide access to the mountain valleys of the Wasatch Plateau and the Uinta Basin regions to the east. The Wasatch Fault, a major fracture of underlying rock, along with its ancillary faults along the west base of the Wasatch Range, is a most influential factor on

current topography and landscape of the valley; however, historic earthquakes along the Wasatch Fault have been relatively minor.

Utah Valley, which geographers have aptly classified as an oasis, lies very near the center of Utah County.⁸ Utah Valley is a partially enclosed basin of irregular shape, measuring about forty miles from north to south (from upper Goshen Valley on the southwest to Dry Creek Canyon above Alpine on the northeast) and fifteen miles from east to west (from Soldier Pass on the west to lower Hobbie Creek Canyon on the east). It contains the largest natural freshwater lake in Utah and one of the largest in the West. The valley consists of fertile but relatively narrow (about one to five miles wide) alluvial slopes along the eastern and western sides of the lake. The east slope, cut by several streams issuing from the Wasatch Mountains, broadens into extensive, well-watered flatlands to the northeast, southeast, and southwest. To the northwest, ephemeral streams drain the Oquirrh Mountains and associated rolling lowlands. The western edge of the valley along the Lake Mountains is less than ten miles in width and contains rather sparse vegetation.

Utah Lake is a rather shallow body of fresh water, with an average depth of only 9.2 feet. It dominates the valley by occupying 25 percent of its floor.⁹ The lake, which covers approximately 93,000 acres, contains about 900,000 acre-feet of water and is about twenty-three miles in length from north to south and slightly more than half that in width. Utah Lake receives much of its water from the Provo River, Spanish Fork River, Hobbie Creek, American Fork River, Dry Fork Creek, and Currant Creek. The latter drains Goshen Valley on the south. However, 20 percent of the lake's water derives from springs. The Provo River originates in the southwestern edge of the Uinta Mountains and drains portions of present-day Wasatch, Summit, and Utah counties. The Jordan River, which flows northward from Utah Valley, bisects the Traverse Mountains through a channel known as the Jordan Narrows and eventually flows into the Great Salt Lake.

Gently sloping upward from all sides of Utah Lake except the western shore is a fertile plain on which is found the richest agricultural land in the county and some of the most productive agricultural land in Utah and the eastern Great Basin.¹⁰ The lake plain is of variable width, extending from less than a mile to approximately eight



Rock Canyon, Mt. Mahogany and Squaw Peak, with Utah Lake in the background. (John Telford)

miles. North of the lake, the land is broad and rises smoothly and gradually from the lake shore about thirty feet per mile. Approximately three miles from the shore, the lake plain abruptly stops at the foot of a sharp bluff that rises from 100 to 150 feet above the plain.

East of the lake, the plain is similar in form and origin to that north of the lake, except for the area west of Orem where the plain is only two miles wide. West of present-day Geneva, within a few hundred feet of the lake, the plain is immediately halted by a fifteen-foot bluff. East of the bluff, the plain is interrupted by several sand ridges a few hundred feet long, which are representative of old bars deposited near the shores of ancient Lake Bonneville. The broadest portion of the plain is west of Spanish Fork, where it reaches a width of nearly eight miles. The bluffs halting the continuation of the plain there are at about the same elevation as those north of the lake.

Between the lake plain and the mountains that border Utah

Valley lie the terraces or benches laid down by ancient Lake Bonneville. North of the lake is the Highland Bench, which rises smoothly and gradually about 200 feet in three miles to the foot of the Wasatch and Traverse Ranges. East of the lake are the Provo, Mapleton, and Southeast Benches, the form and appearance of which are similar to that of the Highland Bench, except that they are generally less than three miles wide and slope upward slightly more rapidly toward the mountains. The Provo Bench has been an excellent area for fruit orchards.

Goshen Valley, located in the southwestern part of Utah County, is physically part of the main valley, being separated from the plain by the lake and a low divide about 1.5 miles west of the town of Santaquin. Running north from this divide is a low ridge known as West Mountain, which forms a boundary of the valley. The northern border cuts east and west across Utah Lake, the southern part of which projects into Goshen Valley. On the south and on the west, the valley is bordered by low mountains.

West of the lake, the land is higher and more arid. From Utah Lake, the terrain in the southwest rises toward the Lake Mountains. The valley land west of the lake is comprised of a plain that varies from one-half mile to five miles in width. The plain rises toward Lake Mountain at about a hundred feet per mile. Immediately west of Utah and Goshen Valleys is Cedar Valley. It is a long, broad valley bordered on the west by the Oquirrh Range, which rises to more than 10,000 feet above sea level in the north (the highest peak, Lewiston Peak, is 10,626 feet above sea level) and diminishes in height to the south as the range blends into the Thorpe Hills. Cedar Valley is bordered on the north by the Traverse Range—the geologic and topographic link between the Wasatch and Oquirrh Ranges—on the south by the Boulter Mountains, and on the east by Lake Mountain.

Cedar Valley stretches north and south about twenty-six miles and is approximately ten miles wide. The floor of the valley is broad and gently sloping toward the south. Cedar Valley is slightly higher in elevation than are Utah or Goshen Valleys, being about 5,000 feet above sea level, or 500 feet above the level of Utah Lake (Cedar Fort is 5,084 feet above sea level).

Euro-American occupation has had a great impact on the native



Bridal Veil Fall, Provo Canyon. (John Telford)

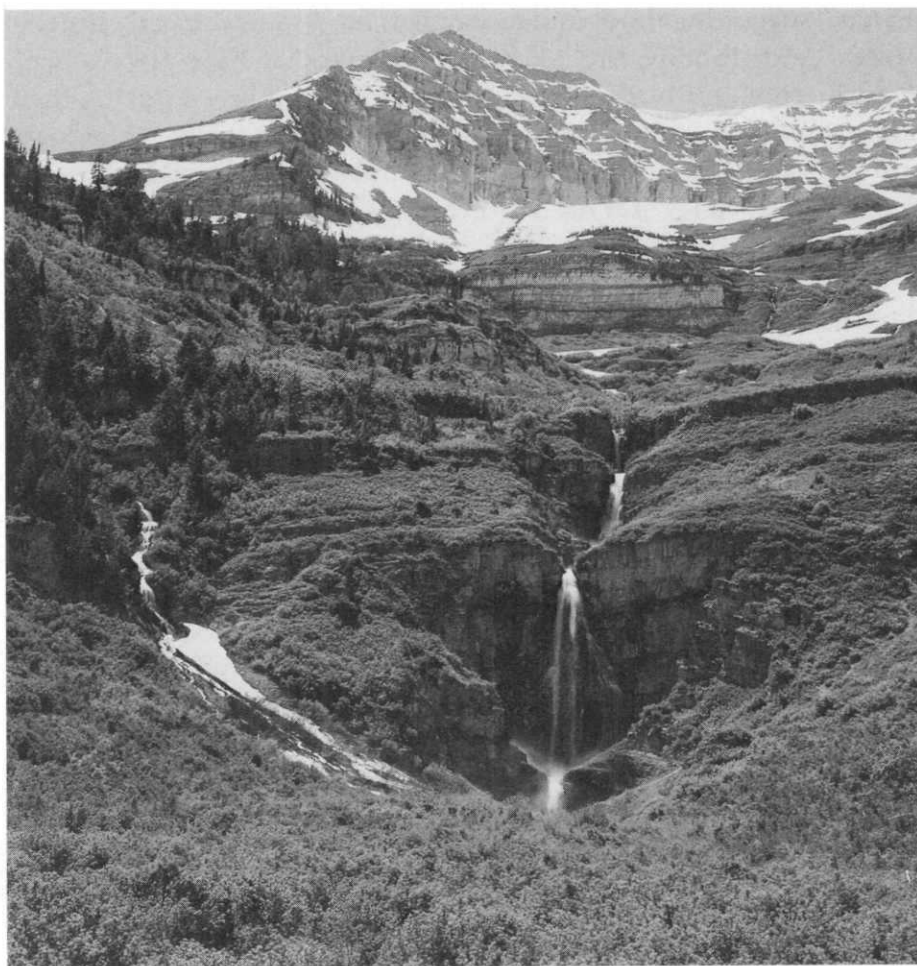
plant life of the region. The inroads of settlement of the last 150 years displaced many indigenous plants through agriculture and the building of roads, cities, and towns. Crop and row agriculture also impacted the native fauna. The indigenous vegetation was eliminated from large areas in the county and replaced by cultivated plants and numerous noxious weeds. The introduction of livestock—cattle, sheep, and horses—led to the overgrazing and eventual loss of native grasses and to the increase of sagebrush and other desert shrub invaders. Farming and the introduction of domestic livestock fos-

tered the growth of less desirable weedy plants such as cheatgrass (in Provo by 1894) from the steppes of central Eurasia and Russian this-tle (tumbleweed, which quickly spread throughout the West after 1873). In the urban and cultivated segments of the county, the native vegetation has largely been destroyed or replaced; however, some areas in the region still contain the native vegetation.

Several organizations have made efforts to preserve Utah County's natural environment for future generations. Among them, the Nature Conservancy has saved the largest known population of *Phacelia argillaceae* (clay phacella), a showy purple wildflower which clings to a steep, shale hillside in Spanish Fork Canyon. One of the rarest plants on earth, the clay phacelia is pollinated by an equally rare species of bee. A sixty-nine-acre site was purchased by the Nature Conservancy, and a seven-foot game fence was installed in July 1990 to help preserve this aspect of Utah County's diverse natural world.¹¹

Cedar Valley contains sagebrush, greasewood, and rabbitbrush, native species that have spread through rangeland overuse. Formerly, some good grass was found at the base of the mountains, and Utah Valley supported the widest variety of plants of any area in the county. Along most of the watercourses were found willows and cottonwood trees; the land near the lake was a large meadow. Farther up, toward the mountains, the land supported bunchgrass, wheatgrass, and ricegrass. Sagebrush and greasewood were also abundant in some areas. Goshen Valley was characteristically covered with rabbitbrush and wheatgrass, except near the lake; greasewood, sagebrush, and white sage covered an extensive area. Near the lake, large areas of the land were covered with pickleweed, saltgrass, and samphire.¹² The mountains, except for the lower ranges, supported dense stands of conifer and aspen. At higher elevations in the Wasatch Range, the forests were broken by parks of lush grass; lower hillside elevations were dominated by scrub oak and sagebrush.

Utah County has important mineral deposits of metals concentrated primarily in three sections of the county: American Fork Canyon, the East Tintic Mountains, and, to a lesser degree, at the head of Spanish Fork Canyon. Gold, silver, copper, zinc, lead, and a number of other minerals have been exploited by miners beginning



Stewart Falls, Timpanogos, American Fork Canyon. (John Telford)

in the nineteenth century. The mountains also act as an important watershed for the county. The Wasatch Range contains some of the most extensive and valuable watersheds in the region. Additionally, the mountains in Utah County act as a wildlife shelter. Big-game animals in the region—elk, mountain sheep, mule deer, antelope, and bear—were hunted by Native Americans for meat and fur. The lake and streams provided the earliest inhabitants of the region with plentiful resources for sustaining life, most notably fish.¹³

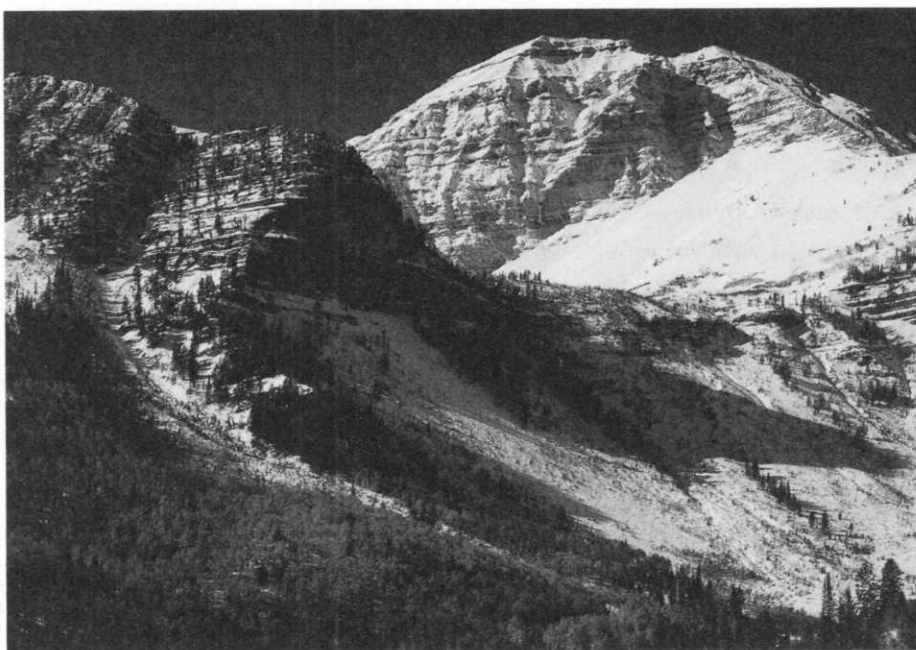
The Utes living on the shores of Utah Lake were known as “Fish

Eaters,” suggesting the abundance of this food source in early historic times. Additionally, the lake and area marshes have always been favorite spots for birds to stop to rest, feed, and breed during their annual migrations. Around the lake, herons, swans, geese, and ducks are plentiful. The canyons provide natural habitat for other varieties of birds. The valley also had fur-bearing mammals, including beaver, mink, muskrat, and skunk.

The Domínguez-Escalante exploration party, the first known Europeans to make contact with Utah County, crossed the Wasatch Range by way of Strawberry Valley, Diamond Fork Canyon, and Spanish Fork Canyon to present-day Utah Valley in 1776. The company, under the leadership of Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, began its remarkable trek through parts of the great Southwest in New Mexico on 29 July 1776. Their objective as to discover a more or less direct northerly route from Santa Fe to the recently established garrison and town of Monterey on the California coast.

Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, journal keeper of the expedition, wrote about the exploration party’s approach to Utah Valley on 23 September 1776: “We went down the little Rio de San Lino [present-day Diamond Creek] . . . we turned west downstream. Here another small one enters it [Upper Spanish Fork River].” Eventually, the group passed “by three copious springs of hot water [Castilla Hot Springs].” Because of the hot springs discovered in the canyon, they named the river which flowed through the area “Rio de Aguas Calientes [River of Hot Water, now known as the Spanish Fork River].”¹⁴

On the Catholic feast day of “Our Lady of Mercy,” the expedition “caught sight of the [Utah] lake and spreading [Utah] valley,” which they named “Nuestra Senora de las Merced of the Timpanogotzis [Our Lady of Mercy of the Timpanogotzis].”¹⁵ The Escalante diary entry for this momentous day continued: “We went down to the plain . . . and halted on one of its southerly meadows, which we named Vega del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus [Plain of the Most Sweet Name of Jesus].” The explorers discovered four medium-sized rivers flowing into Utah Lake. Escalante noted: “The first one toward the south [Spanish Fork River] is the one of hot waters upon the spreading meadows. . . . The second one [Hobble Creek] flowing . . . north-



Mount Timpanogos, American Fork Canyon. (John Telford)

ward away from the first one. . . . We named it Rio de San Nicolas [River of Saint Nicolas].” They named the third river, present-day Provo River, Rio de San Antonio de Padua [River of Saint Anthony of Padua]. The fourth river, present-day American Fork River, was named Rio de Santa Ana [River of Saint Ann].¹⁶

The Spanish visitors also named one of the peaks [present-day Mount Timpanogos] near the valley “La Sierra Blanca de los Timpanois” [White Mountain of the Timpanogos]. It dominates the eastern skyline, flanked by sister peaks that are hardly subordinate in their beauty. In late September 1776 it was probably covered with fresh snow, which may have been the reason the Spaniards named it White Mountain.¹⁷

Several days later, the group moved south and named present-day Peteetneet Creek “Arroyo de San Andres [Creek of Saint Andres].”¹⁸ Eventually, the Spaniards left the well-watered valley of Utah Lake: “We continued south . . . [and] went through its southern pass—which we named Puerto de San Pedro [Gate of Saint Peter]

and entered another splendid valley [present-day Juab Valley] which, because the salt flats from which the Timpanois provide themselves lie very close to it on the east, we named Valle de las Salinas [Valley of the Salts].”¹⁹ The Gate of Saint Peter is the dividing line between present-day Utah and Juab counties; it is a gentle pass, through which Interstate 15 passes.

From Utah Valley, the Spanish fathers traced the western base of Mount Nebo and the Gunnison Plateau as far as present-day Holden before swinging farther west in search of a route across the Great Basin to Monterey, California. Abandoning the idea of reaching their destination on this trip, they continued south and east, returning to Sante Fe in January 1777.

Place Names

Based on information gathered during the Escalante expedition, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco—the group’s cartographer—gave the world its first map of present-day Utah. On this map he identified with Spanish names mountains, canyons, rivers, valleys, Indian villages, and Indian groups.²⁰ Since the earliest times of the Catholic explorers in 1776, Euro-Americans have been naming features of the land. Place names not only reflect the natural character of a particular location but also provide insight into how people experience a certain region now or in the past. Many of the earliest place names (especially those of Native Americans) have been lost.

A quick comparison of the first maps of the region with contemporary maps reveals that many mountains, canyons, rivers, valleys, and other features of the county have been named and renamed.²¹ For example, Utah Lake has been known as Ashley Lake, Little Uta Lake, Utaw Lake, and Laguna de Los Timpanogos; and Genola, a small community in Goshen Valley, was known as Hardscrabble, Silver Lake, and Idlewild before the current name stuck.

Native Americans provided the first names. Utah historian Jay Haymond observed, “Place names are very tricky cultural markers. Indians had no written language and therefore left no names on the land (or maps) as such. When they applied a name to a topographic feature, the name tended to be adjectival (e.g. ‘the place where the bear attacked’). This arms-length distance from the land they knew

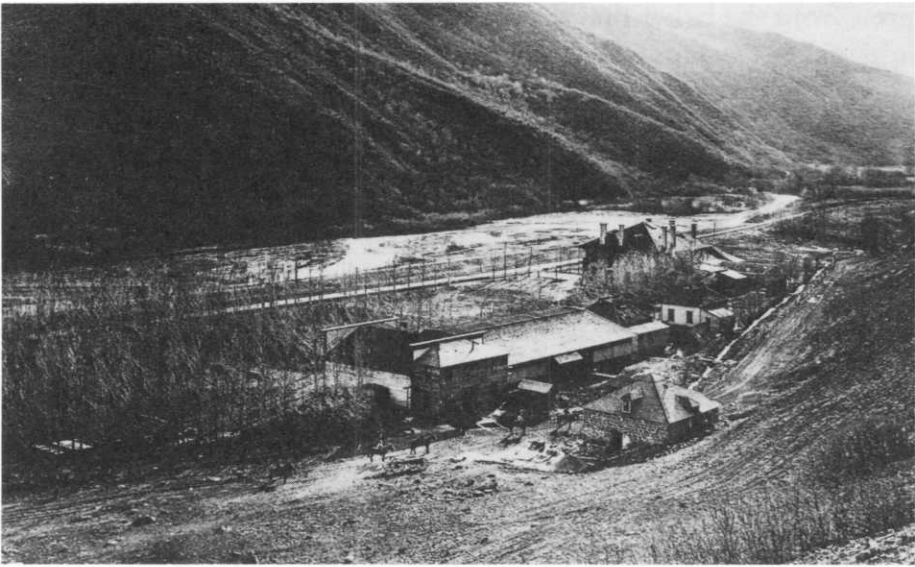
grew from the belief that they, the Indians, were part of nature.” He added: “Europeans, (and Americans) on the other hand, believed strongly in proprietorship and expressed their belief by applying *their* names to the land they conquered, or names they appropriated from sources they thought of as their own or theirs to use. . . . When [they] appropriated Indian names and applied them to the land, they did so without consulting the individual Indian or his/her tribe, believing they had a right to use the sources of a people they now had conquered and therefore owned.”²²

While some place names in the county remind us of the early peoples of the land, “naming topographic features for Indians was insulting from the Indian point-of-view,” Haymond argued. He noted, “Seldom do we find an Indian name that was applied by the tribal chief or by his permission.”²³ For the most part, however, the early pioneers believed it was an honor to have a place named after a person. Therefore they gave names to cities, rivers, and other topographic features as a means of honoring the early people of the land.

Because the native people did not have a written language, preserving the original pronunciation of Indian names has been difficult. Santaquin, in southern Utah County, was originally named Summit Creek but was changed by local residents to honor the son of a Ute Indian chief. Peteetneet Creek, which drains from Payson Canyon into Utah Lake, was named in honor of another chief. “Timpanogos” reportedly refers to rock and running water. The east Tintic Mountains, southwest of Utah Lake, were named after another prominent chief.

Utah County, Utah Lake, and Utah Valley were named after the Native Americans (Utes) who lived in the area. Walker Flat, on the west side of Peteetneet Creek, was named after Chief Wakara. Wanrhodes Canyon was named after an Indian who raised cattle in the area. The name for the Wasatch Mountains is derived from a Ute Indian word meaning “mountain pass.” The name for the Oquirrh Mountains is taken from a Goshute Indian word that has several meanings, including “wooded mountain,” “cave mountain,” “west mountain,” and “shining mountain.”

The Spanish explorers were memorialized in the region with such names as Spanish Fork (town, river, canyon, and peak) and the



Castilla Hot Springs in 1917 by George Edward Anderson. (Utah State Historical Society)

name of an early resort in Spanish Fork Canyon, Castilla Springs. Laguna is a generalized area on the shore of Utah Lake named for the Indians (Lagunas, in Spanish) who lived there.

The Euro-American explorers and mountain men who followed in the wake of the Spanish also added names. Prominent among them was Etienne Provost, whose name (Provo) honors a city, a river, a canyon, a bay, and a mountain peak in the county. Fremont Canyon, which originates at the Juab County line, 2.5 miles northwest of Eureka, apparently was named after U.S. military explorer John C. Frémont, who passed through the area.

The first permanent white settlers also gave names to features, giving such Biblical names as Salem to a town, Israel and Enoch to canyons, Jordan to a river, Mount Nebo to a prominent peak, and Jacob's Ladder to a group of hilltops. One interesting aspect of this process is the analogy between three features in the Holy Land and three features in Utah—the Dead Sea and the Great Salt Lake, River Jordan (Israel) and the Jordan River (Utah), and the Sea of Galilee and Utah Lake.²⁴ The salt content in both the Dead Sea and Great Salt Lake and the connecting freshwater rivers and lakes are obvious sim-

ilarities. Additionally, both Galilee and Utah Lake were important fisheries, providing people with a valuable resource. While many dissimilarities exist between the two regions—elevation and climate, for instance—the Mormon pioneers saw themselves reenacting the great “exodus” of ancient Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land. Brigham Young, their leader, became the “American Moses” who led his people to a new “promised land” in the Great Basin.

Additionally, from Mormon sacred scripture (Book of Mormon), came Lehi and Ether Peak in the Wasatch Mountains, four miles east southeast of Springville. Mormons also named the small community of Palmyra for Palmyra, New York, prominent in early Mormon history; gave a canyon the name of Reformation Canyon and a basin the name of Kolob Basin; and named a mountain Tithing Mountain—reflecting their unique religious culture and history.

County toponymy also includes place names not found on any map. For example, residents may simply refer to the open country or distant mountains surrounding their community as “the west desert” or the “east mountains.”

Each place name has its own story. Sometimes names remained but the stories of how and when the names were chosen are shrouded in mystery. Beer Creek, Bismark Peak, Coffeepot Ridge, Genola, Jimmys Fork, Loafer Mountain, Soberville Hollow, Three Sisters, and Two Tom Hill are a few examples. Yet many place name stories have been preserved, sometimes even two or three different origin stories. For example, American Fork River, which originates on the south slopes of Mount Baldy (Bald Mountain), has three stories of how it was named. First, the river was given the name because American goldseekers camped there while passing through the region on their way to California. Second, it was named by early trappers and mountaineers who worked the creek for beaver in the early 1820s. Third, it was named to distinguish it from the Spanish Fork River to the south.

Some stories reveal a simple and practical reason for a place name. Often a canyon was identified by the name of the person who first explored and/or utilized its resources. Sometimes the name simply describes the feature, as in Crooked Canyon or Picayune Canyon. At other times, the place name is for an explorer whose

name became associated with the region or feature, even if it had a previous name. William Price, a Mormon bishop in Goshen, explored the area of the White River and called the river after himself; it has been known as the Price River since that time.

A small community between Santaquin and Elberta, present-day Goshen, was known as Sodom. Apparently, the early pioneers built dugouts, and each spring and fall the settlers were required to fix their sod roofs. "Sodum up" was a term used for the process, and so the town reportedly became known as "Sodum" or "Sodom." Its current name was given by its first Mormon bishop, Phineas W. Cook, for his birthplace in Goshen, Connecticut.

Hobble Creek Canyon obtained its name when Barney Ward and Oliver B. Huntington were in the area on a trading expedition with local Indians in February 1849. While the traders camped in the foothills for the evening, they put hobbles on their horses to hamper their movement when they were turned out to feed. At the time, the snow lay a foot deep, but the dry bunch grasses protruded from the snowy crust six inches in many places and afforded welcome feed for the horses. During the night, a horse became unhobbled and led the other horses toward the mouth of the nearby canyon, east of present-day Springville. Ward and Huntington followed the tracks in the snow and finally caught up to the horses and recovered them in the canyon. From this incident, the canyon received its name.

In 1872 a diphtheria epidemic swept the small mining town of Forest in American Fork Canyon, killing a number of people, including eleven children, who were subsequently buried just below the town, now known as Grave Yard Flat. Sometimes, the naming account is based more on rumor than fact, as is the case of Hangmen's Spring in Battle Creek Canyon—apparently named because someone reportedly hanged himself there sometime in the nineteenth century. Very little is known of the event.

Other names were given to reflect a natural aspect of an area such as a plant, rock, or geological feature: Aspen Grove, Birdseye (for nearby marble quarries), Box Elder Peak, Cedar Fort and Cedar Valley, Dry Canyon, Grindstone Canyon (for nearby stone used to make grindstones), Lindon (for an old linden tree in town), Mahogany Mountain, Maple Canyon and Mapleton, Mineral Basin,

Mollies Nipple (presumably for its shape), Pleasant Grove (for a local grove of cottonwood trees), Rock Canyon, Teat Mountain (for its shape), Thistle Creek, White Lake (for the alkali color of the dried lake area), and Wildwood are but some.

Geographic place names can reflect the site, location, or features of the place, as in the case of Alpine, Cascade Mountain (for small waterfalls), Lake Shore, Lake View, Spring Lake, and Springville. In the case of Emerald Lake, a small snowmelt lake on the eastern slope of Mount Timpanogos, the name was given because the lake looked like an emerald gem with its yellowish-green color.

Sometimes a name reflects acts of nature, such as Burned Canyon, Lightning Peak, Warm Springs, Windy Pass, and Snowslide Canyon. Other names reflect the presence of animals, birds, reptiles, and insects: Ant Hill, Bear Canyon, Beaver Dam Creek, Bird Island, Coyote Pass, Diamond Fork Canyon (for a diamondback rattlesnake); Pelican Point, Porcupine Creek, Rattlesnake Mountain, and Tickville Gulch.

In some cases, towns or natural features were named for a person; for example, (Joseph) Bartholomew Canyon, Benjamin (F. Stewart), Camp (John B.) Floyd, Camp (General W.G.) Williams, (William F.) Colton, (Abraham) Days Canyon, Geneva (Dallin) Resort, (Samuel and Joseph) Granger Mountain and Granger Canyon, (Martin) Hansen Cave, (Joseph) Kelly's Grove, Leland (Creer), (L.S.) Manning Canyon, (Walter C.) Orem, (Milan) Packard Canyon, (James Pace) Payson, Payson Canyon, and Payson Lakes, (Eugene Lusk) Roberts Horn, (James) Tucker, Vivian (Slick) Park, (William S.) Wardsworth Canyon and Wardsworth Peak, (Aaron) Whittmore Canyon, and the unusual complete name of Minnie Simmons Spring. Apparently, Ray Miller, a sheepherder, had both a valley (Rays Valley) and a ridge (Millers Ridge) named after him, utilizing his first and last names.

In the case of Fairfield, the name derives from two distinct aspects: "fair," as a result of the pleasant views from the area, and "field," in honor of Amos Fielding. Evansville (named in honor of David Evans) was changed to Lehi, and Fort (William S.) Wardsworth became Dry Creek, then Mountainville, and eventually Alpine.²⁵ Camp Floyd's name was changed in 1861 after U.S.

Secretary of War John B. Floyd's Southern sympathies led to him leaving the Cabinet; the new name, Fort Crittenden, was in honor of Senator J.J. Crittenden of Kentucky.

In other cases, features received their names to mark an event or human use at the location; for example, Battle Creek Canyon (for a battle between white militiamen and a group of Ute families), Beer Hall Cave, Billie's Mountain (for Billie Johnson, who got stuck in these mountains with a team and wagon), Bomber Peak (a 1955 B-25 crash site), Dance Hall Cave, Dividend (for a successful mining operation), Dugout Station (for the site of a dugout on the Pony Express route), Drunker Hollow (site of drinking binges by local miners), Elberta (for a variety of peaches planted there), Mammoth Peak (for a successful mine), Manila (in honor of Admiral Dewey's 1898 victory at Manila in the Philippine Islands), Slide Canyon (the site of a long timber slide), Soldiers Pass (for U.S. Army troops who passed through the area), Squaw Peak (the site where Big Elk's wife fell and died), Stringtown—present-day Lindon—(for the line of houses built along a single road), Swede's Lane (for a local Swedish immigrant), Tie Fork (for ties taken from this area for the railroad), Vineyard (for the grapevines in the area), and Y Mountain (for the giant "Y" placed on the mountain by BYU students).

The names of the features in Utah County reveal a colorful history of the interaction between people and the land. This association began long ago when early people came into the region to exploit the resources of the mountains, canyons, lake, rivers, and valleys.

ENDNOTES

1. E.S. Hinckley, "Utah County—Land of Opportunities," *Union Pacific Magazine* 2 (June 1923): 33.

2. This chapter relies heavily on Charles Hayward Wride, "The Agricultural Geography of Utah County: 1849–1960" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961); and Joel C. Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991). Additional information provided by James L. Baer, Geology Department, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

3. Information provided by F. Dean Miner, Jr., Utah State University Agricultural County Director, 7 February 1996.

4. Utah's geologic history has been divided by some scholars into eight phases: Phase I—Archean and Early Proterozoic Periods (3,000–1,000 million years ago); Phase II—Later Proterozoic to Devonian Periods (1,000–360 million years ago); Phase III—Mississippian to Permian Periods (360–250 million years ago); Phase IV—Triassic to Early Cretaceous Periods (250–100 million years ago); Phase V—Late Cretaceous Period (100–66 million years ago); Phase VI—Paleocene to Eocene Epoch (66–37 million years ago); Phase VII—Oligocene to Early Miocene Epochs (37–15 million years ago); and Phase VIII—Late Miocene to Holocene Epochs (15 million years ago to present); see Lehi F. Hintze, *Geologic History of Utah* (Provo: Department of Geology, Brigham Young University, 1988), 2.

5. See J. Keith Rigby, *The Rock and Scenery of Camp Maple Dell, Utah County, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological and Mineralogical Survey, 1959).

6. Information provided by Carl Clyde, Geneva Rock Products, Inc., Orem, Utah, 16 January 1996.

7. See Donald R. Currey, Genevieve Atwood, and Don R. Mabey, *Major Levels of Great Salt Lake and Lake Bonneville* (Salt Lake City: Utah Geological and Mineral Survey, 1983).

8. See, for example, C. Langdon White and Edwin J. Foscue, *Regional Geography of Anglo America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), 347.

9. See D. Robert Carter, "A History of Commercial Fishing on Utah Lake" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969).

10. For a comparison of agricultural production with other areas in the region see Wayne L. Wahlquist, ed., *Atlas of Utah* (Provo: Weber State College/Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 189–96.

11. Nicholas Van Pelt to Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 6 December 1994, in author's possession.

12. See Beverly J. Albee, Leila M. Shultz, Sherel Goodrich, *Atlas of the Vascular Plants of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Natural History, 1988); and Stanley L. Welsh, N. Duane Atwood, Sherel Goodrich, and Larry C. Higgins, eds., *A Utah Flora* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1993).

13. See Richard A. Heckman, Charles Thompson, and David A. White, "Fishes of Utah Lake," *Great Basin Naturalist Memoirs* 5 (1981): 107.

14. Ted J. Warner, ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 177* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 53–56. The location of sites and translation of the Spanish names is based on Warner; additional translations were provided by Joaquina Valtierra Hoskisson.

15. This feast day honored Mary, the Mother of Jesus, as patron of

those held captive. Apparently, the Catholic fathers felt this was a sign indicating that they would free the Native Americans from the slavery of sin through the message of Christian redemption; see Warner, *Dominguez-Escalante Journal*, 63.

16. *Dominguez-Escalante Journal*, 53–56.

17. *Ibid.*, 57–61.

18. *Ibid.*, 61–62.

19. *Ibid.*, 62.

20. Herbert S. Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Route (as depicted by the Map of Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco)," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9 (1941): 73–80.

21. Information about place name origins is based on "Place Names" file, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah; Victor K. Isbell, *Historical Development of the Spanish Fork Ranger District* (Uinta National Forest, Intermountain Region, Department of Agriculture, n.d.); Michael R. Kelsey, *Climbing and Exploring Utah's Mt. Timpanogos* (Provo: Kelsey Publishing, 1989); and John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).

22. Jay Haymond to author, 14 February 1996.

23. *Ibid.*

24. D.S. Boyer, "Geographic Twins a World Apart," *National Geographic Magazine* 17 (December 1958): 848–59; Arnon Soffer and Albert Fisher, "Real and Imagined Similarities between Utah and the Holy Land," *Encyclopaedia* 57 (1980): 116–28.

25. To further complicate matters, Fort Wadsworth, Wadsworth Canyon and Wadsworth Peak were named after the same man.

CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY PEOPLES OF THE LAND

John M. McCullough of the University of Utah telephoned Joel C. Janetski at Brigham Young University in August 1991 inviting Janetski to meet near the abandoned town of Mosida on the southwest shore of Utah Lake, where human remains had been discovered by fishermen and had been verified by the medical examiner's office in Salt Lake City as being prehistoric.

McCullough and Janetski used professional archaeological procedures to expose the remaining skeletal materials at the ancient burial site. Photographs were taken during the excavation to help record the "organized destruction" of the site. Back at the lab, each piece taken from the site was cleaned, and accession numbers were assigned to each piece to ensure that the museum had detailed records.¹

The researchers determined that the burial site dated from between 3,649 and 3,352 B.C. The site included the remains of a man lying "on his back on the north side of the pit with his feet to the southwest and legs flexed . . . [and a] dog [lying] at the south edge of the burial pit with its head toward the east."² Several bone and antler



Investigations at the Mosida Burial at the south end of Utah Lake in 1991. The burial, which was exposed by receding lake waters, lies in front of the group. (Joel Janetski, Brigham Young University)

tools, twined matting and coiled basketry, various faunal remains, and a large projectile point (a handled knife or spear point) were also discovered. The scholars determined that the man was middle-aged, of medium stature, and, in all likelihood, left-handed. The dog, as large or slightly larger than a coyote, was determined to have been a mature female.

The scholars believed that “new information on several topics related to Archaic life in the eastern Great Basin” was discovered. One significant insight is that the Mosida site demonstrates an important concern for the deceased and perhaps some type of belief about an afterlife by the ancient people who buried the man nearly 6,000 years ago. The site also demonstrates a close human-dog relationship very early in the Great Basin.

Utah Valley’s earliest inhabitants left numerous and interesting evidences of their existence—ruins, artifacts, and petroglyphs.³ When Catholic fathers Domínguez and Escalante met the Ute Indians in 1776, the Utes were part of a long tradition of people utilizing the

wide variety of resources in the future county. Although their oral traditions suggest that they have always lived in Utah Valley, the Utes were not the first people to inhabit the land.

Generally, the prehistory of the Great Basin region is divided into three distinct stages. The first, a period spanning several thousand years to about A.D. 500, is known as the Archaic (the burial pit investigated by McCullough and Janetski dates from this period). The second, a period ranging from A.D. 500 to the 1300s is known as the Fremont, or Formative, period. The third and final period dates from the 1300s until European contact in 1776 and is known as the Late Prehistoric period.⁴ It should be noted that Archaic and Fremont refers to a strategy of subsistence and settlement, not to a particular people.

Two important archaeological excavations reveal some clues about these ancient peoples who utilized the bountiful resources in present-day Utah County. The first site is located in American Fork Canyon, a cave initially excavated by two BYU geologists in the 1930s. It apparently was a mountain-sheep hunting camp used as early as 1,700 B.C.⁵ The second site is Spotten Cave, located in southern Utah Valley at the north end of Long Ridge some 1.5 miles from the nearest modern marsh area of Utah Lake. Excavated in the 1960s by BYU archaeologists, its earliest levels are dated to about 4,000 B.C.⁶

The groups of people who inhabited the land lived in caves and rock shelters and likely elsewhere, subsisting by hunting, gathering, and fishing. Those in Utah Valley employed technologies to exploit the resources of the lake, streams, valley, and nearby mountains. Technologies in hunting and fishing changed over time, and the artifacts left by the Archaic peoples help clarify their use of the various ecosystems of Utah Valley.

Gradual change occurred near the beginning of the first century A.D.⁷ About A.D. 400 to 500, pottery began to appear at sites in present-day Utah. By A.D. 800, a number of horticultural villages were established in the eastern Great Basin area as part of a new period of occupation, influenced by contacts with Native Americans from the Southwest. These changes included the presence of corn, storage structures, bow-and-arrow technology, and pithouses. The people who built these villages are generally referred to as the Fremont,

named after the river in southern Utah where Harvard anthropologist Noel M. Morss first identified and named the culture in 1931.⁸

The change from relying totally on hunting and gathering to a subsistence strategy which included farming developed slowly during the period between A.D 400 and 800. The reliance on the horticulture of corn, beans, and squash to supplement a wild-food diet and the accompanying use of pithouses and related surface structures was a significant phase of Utah Valley's prehistory. Although considerable debate still occurs regarding its origins, this new culture manufactured a thin-walled, coiled gray pottery; one-rod-and-bundle baskets; unique moccasins made from the skin of a deer or mountain sheep; and clay figurines with hair "bobs" and necklaces.

The Fremont culture was contemporary with the famous Anasazi culture farther south. Apparently, the Fremont peoples borrowed ideas and may have obtained corn seeds from the Anasazi. Unlike the desert foragers who lived in the Great Basin before them, the Fremont were a more sedentary horticultural people who lived in scattered family groups and small villages throughout Utah. Many Fremont sites are found along the old channels of Utah Valley's rivers, including Currant Creek and the Provo River. Numerous mounds, formed by the collapse of adobe-walled surface structures and earth lodges, were also found along streams and rivers in Utah Valley before they were leveled by early white farmers.

The George Montague Wheeler expedition (1872-73) noted in its published report a description of some of these mounds in Utah Valley: "West of the town [Provo], on its outskirts and within three or four miles of the lake, are many mounds." Additionally, "Northwest of Provo on the level fields, half-way from the town to Utah Lake is a field containing a number of mounds more or less perfectly preserved; some are entirely untouched, except on the outer edges, where the Mormons' grain patches encroach upon them."⁹ More than a hundred such mounds were located west of Provo in the 1930s.

The best-documented site is Woodard Mound in Goshen Valley. Here archaeologists unearthed the first Fremont house to be well documented in the Utah Lake area.¹⁰ This site in Goshen Valley was first investigated in 1968. BYU archaeologists worked sporadically

from 1969 to 1981 at Woodard Mound. From the work completed, it appears that the people who occupied this site exploited wild plant foods, fish, muskrat, rabbit, birds' eggs, freshwater mussels, deer, mountain sheep, and antelope in the region as primary foods. Cultivated crops played a secondary role, supplementing their diet.

A general date of occupation from A.D. 1250–1280 was determined using the carbon-14 dating method, although scholars believe that the site was occupied over a long period of time. Cultural material discovered at the site indicates interaction with other Fremont groups. Additionally, Anasazi tradeware and marine-shell beads were also discovered at Woodard Mound, suggesting that the people there participated in extended trade networks.

This and other Fremont sites reveal through numerous chipped stone, ground stone, figurines, harpoon points, ceramics, and fauna and flora remains that the people living in the vicinity of Utah Lake during the Fremont period relied on a much wider variety of food-stuffs than did other groups in Utah because the lake, rivers, valleys, and nearby mountains supplied these Fremont with a very rich resource base.

No one knows for certain why the Fremont culture disappeared somewhere between A.D. 1250 and 1350. Some scholars suggest that a new group of people from southern California and Nevada may have invaded the region and replaced the Fremont culture. These new people on the land were the Numic speaking peoples—the Northern and Western Shoshoni, the Northern Ute, and the Southern Paiute. These hunters and gatherers were living in Utah when the Spanish arrived in the region in 1776.

Although much has been written about the Archaic and Fremont occupations of Utah County, other information about the Late Prehistoric period is still coming to light. Recent archaeological work along the shores of Utah Lake is helping researchers to develop a fuller understanding of the people who lived there before the arrival of the first pioneers. Concluding his summary of the prehistory of Utah Lake, Janetski outlined the differences between Fremont occupation in Utah Valley and that of the late prehistoric occupation: "Preferred locations for residential settlements changed from stream side for the Fremont to lake shore for the late hunters and gatherers.



Lane Richens, a graduate student at Brigham Young University, excavating at Woodard Mound in 1981. Richens found and documented a rectangular, adobe-walled pit house here dating to the late Fremont period about A.D. 1250. Woodard Mound, named for property owner Jay Woodard, is located near the town of Goshen at the south end of Utah Valley. (Joel Janetski, Brigham Young University)

During the Late Prehistoric period farming was abandoned as were pit houses and adobe-walled surface storage units.” Earlier sophisticated ceramics were “replaced by crudely made Promontory pottery; arrow point styles, the shapes of stone tools, and grinding implements all changed noticeably.” Janetski argued that the best possible explanation for these changes, which occurred in the relatively brief period between A.D. 1250 and 1350, was the “total replacement of people” by a new group.¹¹

The people of the land who met the Spanish in 1776 were the Timpanogots, probably the largest concentration of Ute people in Utah at the time.¹² Several European witnesses apparently confirm that various villages were located throughout Utah Valley, including along the west side of Utah Lake. Ute villages around the lake may have consisted of from five to ten households, numbering between twenty-five and fifty people.¹³ The people from these villages some-

times went as far as the Uinta Basin and Strawberry Valley to hunt and gather berries and other food items. They fished as individuals and in groups, using several techniques to harvest a variety of fish. Fish were either cooked for immediate consumption or dried for long-term storage. They hunted animals and birds; and crickets, grasshoppers, and other insects supplemented their diet. They sometimes mixed insects with berries into a storable fruitcake. The people gathered a large variety of berries, nuts, seeds, roots, and greens.

The Utes lived in grass and brush shelters made principally of willows. Their primary handicraft was basketry. Besides natural fibers, the Utes of Utah Valley also used ceramics and stone for various containers and tools. The people of Utah Valley generally wore simple clothing. Ute men wore breechcloths and deerskin jackets and leggings in season, and the women wore short leather skirts. Additionally, robes and blankets woven of twisted strings of rabbit-skin with the fur left on and juniper or sage bark helped protect the people during periods of cold.

When childbirth was near, a shelter was built in which willows were leaned together in such a way as to allow enough room for standing.¹⁴ Like most Native American women, a Ute woman usually squatted or knelt during delivery and was assisted by a female relative and in difficult deliveries by a male or female shaman. Children were important; they were welcomed and loved and cared for in special ways, including constant pampering and being amused with toys. Stories and songs were used to entertain children, to pass on traditions and skills, and to teach values. Apparently, however, deformed children were abandoned.

The naming of a child could occur at different times—sometimes at birth, after weaning, when walking began, and even later. The name usually referred to some action or personal characteristic or some material object, animal, bird, or plant. Names could be changed later in life to reflect some deed committed by the individual. Nicknames were also common.

Hunting by a young boy began as soon as he could handle a bow and arrow. Young girls experienced a change in lifestyle as soon as they began their menses. Women were obliged each month to isolate themselves in a special shelter during menstruation. These huts kept

women separated from their own homes, providing a monthly respite from the rigors of their daily work. The huts were also places to socialize where women could talk privately. The first visit to a hut also allowed the young woman to participate in the annual Bear Dance, the Timpanogots' most important communal activity.

When bears emerged from hibernation in early march, the Utes gathered to participate in the Bear Dance. Although the sources are somewhat inconsistent, the origin of the Bear Dance seems to revolve around a young hunter who found a bear dancing in front of its den. In the story, the hunter is told by the bear that the Utes should perform the bear dance and that it is forbidden to hunt bear. If the Ute people do as they are told, they will gain power. Additionally, some Utes evidently believed that their ancestors were bears and that the bears of the present were descendants of the Ute bears and therefore related to the Ute people.¹⁵

The Bear Dance celebration, which lasted from four to ten days, was a time of festive activities including socializing, courting, gambling, foot racing, wrestling, trading, and dancing. Male musicians accompanied the Bear Dance, which was formed inside a circular brush enclosure. Couples danced three steps forward and then two steps back until both were completely exhausted. For the Timpanogots, the dance coincided with the fish spawning season; therefore, an abundant supply of fish was available to enjoy as part of the celebration. Participation in the Bear Dance allowed young women to socialize for the first time as marriage candidates.

Numerous other activities during the year, including sliding on snow, juggling, and team sports, allowed the people to socialize, practice important skills, and divert their attention from periods of intense work.

The transition from being single to being married was usually completed during the teenage years. Apparently, the family played a minor role in choosing a spouse. Few marriages were polygamous, and most Utes married outside the immediate band.¹⁶ Marriage relationships were tenuous and temporary—more of a process than a single event. Individuals could move from one partner to another without the need of a formal divorce. Grandparents helped in these family units and may have been primarily responsible for passing on

wisdom, knowledge, and tradition to the next generation. Places of honor were given to aged relatives, and, as a sign of respect, they were often the first to speak or be served.

Mourning played a significant role at the time of death. The body of the deceased was washed, clothed in its best dress, and the face painted. The body was then buried in a rock crevice or cave with its head toward the east. Personal belongings were generally burned, though some could be distributed among the group. Self-mutilation, as part of the mourning ritual, was not unheard of among the Western Ute people. Just before Chief Peteetneet died in 1862, he ordered one of his wives to be buried with him. A woman of the band carried out the chief's directions by killing one of his wives with an ax.¹⁷ Folklore has it that when Chief Wakara died, a slave boy was buried alive with the body. Reportedly, when three warriors came by the tomb several days later, they ignored the pleas of the starving and thirst-crazed child.¹⁸

Like other people, the Utes made sense of their world through shared myths and rituals. They believed in the immortality of the human soul, in various deities, and in the pervasive power of the creator, who triumphed over forces of evil. The Utes believed that everything was imbued with a spirit—they even lived in forests, waters, and mountains.

Many of the myths of the Ute people, like the origins of the Bear Dance, focused on animal stories. The wolf was often portrayed as the creator and the coyote as the common hero or antihero in their stories. Like other creation myths, a Ute origin myth describes the earth initially empty of human inhabitants until the creator made people. In this case, he cut sticks and placed them in a large bag. According to this tradition, a curious coyote opened the bag; people came out and then scattered across the land, each speaking a different language. When the creator returned, only a few people remained. These became the Utes; as the creator said, "This small tribe of people shall be Ute, but they will be very brave and able to defeat the rest."¹⁹ However, nothing prepared the people for the "great encounter" with Anglo-Europeans—a people the Utes could not defeat.

Just as the Indian people of Utah may have displaced others who lived in Utah Valley before them, others prepared to move in and dis-



An 1873 photograph of a Ute Indian Camp by J.K. Hillers of the Powell Expedition. (Smithsonian Office of Anthropology)

place them. Encounters between Native Americans and others occurred as a myriad of people came to Utah Valley for various reasons. Spanish explorers came to claim the valley for Spain; fur traders and trappers from the United States, Mexico, and elsewhere came to

trade with the Utes of the valley and to trap for beaver pelts from the 1820s to about 1850. Beginning in the 1840s, other Euro-Americans and American government explorers traveling to other locales crossed through Utah Valley on their way. And transcontinental travelers, Mormon settlers, the federal army, and Indian agents settled in the county beginning in 1849.

Well before these developments, however, native cultures met and mixed in the West. The history of the native peoples of the Great Basin is one of migration, adaptation, and change. By the time the first Spanish explorers entered the Intermountain West in the middle of the eighteenth century, Ute people had already been in contact with Europeans through contacts with tribes from the Pacific Coast, the Plains, and the Southwest.

The Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776 provides the first-known glimpse of an encounter between Euro-Americans and the Timpanogots living in the valley of Utah Lake, although there may be an earlier reference to the Timpanogots in the 1765 journal of Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera who, while visiting near the present-day town of Moab, heard about a valley and a group of Indians living near a lake. Although the journal may refer to the Timpanogots, it does not appear that Rivera's group ever visited them or entered Utah Valley.²⁰

Arriving in Utah Valley on 23 September 1776, the Spanish priests and their party offered to teach the Utes "how to farm and to raise livestock, whereby they would then have everything necessary in food and clothing." Their overriding purpose was to "Christianize" the people of the valley so the Spaniards could help obtain the "salvation of their souls."²¹

Escalante's description of the valley apparently shows that the Timpanogots still retained much of their natural economy. Horses, guns, or other material objects from European culture were absent. The Catholic friars left Utah Valley and made their way to New Mexico, never to return as they promised. During the next three decades, the Timpanogots had no known direct contact with the Spanish of northern New Mexico; only through relations with other Ute people living farther east and south was a distant, indirect con-

tact maintained. Yet this contact influenced the lifeways of the Utes living in Utah Valley.

The Timpanogots, along with most Utah Indians, saw the whites as resources to be exploited, and eventually they obtained metal beads, guns, blankets, metal arrow points, mirrors, and other items of European culture. By 1805 the Timpanogots were resisting their Shoshoni enemies with great success and may have obtained horses in the process.²² By 1813 the earlier contacts made by the Spanish were transformed into direct trade with the Utes, including the trade of slaves captured from other local tribes (the slave trade had begun in Utah in the 1740s).²³

Within a short time, another group of people penetrated the Great Basin and made contact with the people of Utah Valley. These were the mountain men. French-Canadian trapper Etienne Provost (sometimes spelled Proveau, Provot, and Proaux) eventually established a temporary post on Utah Lake and, as a result, his name became part of Utah County's story.²⁴

Jedediah S. Smith, an American fur trapper who came west as a member of William H. Ashley's fur company, explored Utah Valley twice, each time traveling from Bear Lake Valley to California searching for beaver. In August 1826 Smith and nearly twenty members of his fur trading and trapping brigade were in Utah Valley. For two days Smith and his men remained in Utah Valley awaiting the opportunity to meet with Ute chief Conmarrowap. Conmarrowap was apparently fearful of encountering hostile Shoshoni and refused to meet Smith. Disappointed, Smith and his men probably headed southeast up Spanish Fork Canyon and on to Castle Valley. A short distance up Spanish Fork Canyon Smith met what were probably some of Conmarrowap's band. "I found at that place 35 lodges some of Skins and some of Brush. Each family has 4 or 5 horses," Smith later wrote of his encounter. Here in Spanish Fork Canyon, Smith "concluded a treaty with these Indians by which the Americans are allowed to hunt & trap in and pass through their country unmolested."²⁵ Smith and the other trappers who followed wanted peaceful trade relations with the Utes. This treaty between Smith and the Utes of Utah Valley probably established a relatively lasting peaceful relationship between the Utes and Euro-Americans. Chief Wakara (Walker), who eventu-

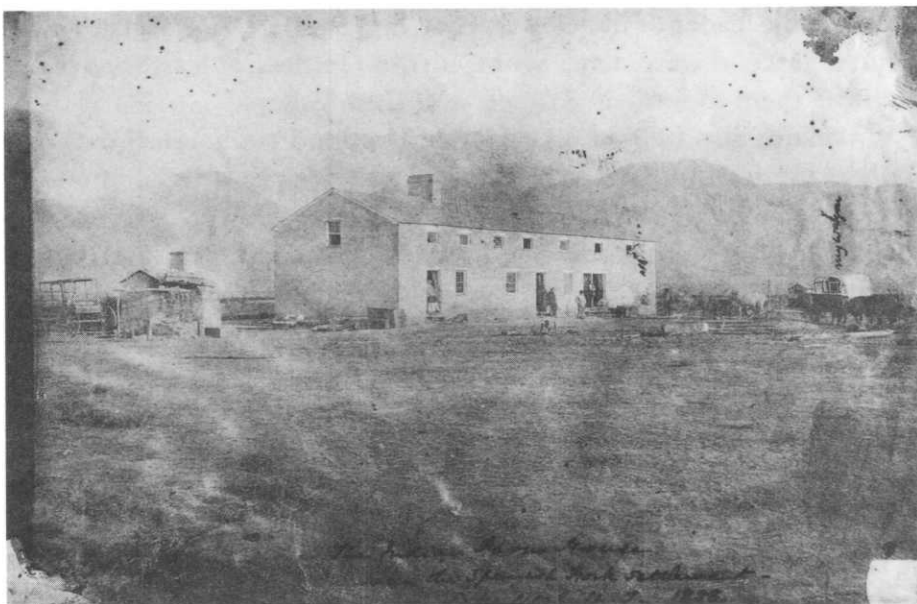
ally became leader of the Utes in Utah and Sanpete Valleys, later continued peaceful coexistence with Mormon settlers, at least for a time, inviting them to settle in Sanpete and Utah Valleys.

Wakara also helped establish and expand trade relations with Euro-American fur traders. His father had been murdered in one of the Timpanogots' civil struggles—shot in the back while standing by his tent. After taking revenge upon the murders, Wakara fled to Sanpete Valley and established one of his headquarters there. By 1836 Wakara was actively involved in raiding horses along the Old Spanish Trail—traveling as far as southern California—and he also was in the slave trade business that had been firmly established among the Indians. He and his people became wealthy through their exploits, and the chief himself became a legend, often reported to have been in more than one place at one time.²⁶

Each contact between Euro-Americans and the people of Utah Valley introduced new technologies and changes into the lifestyle of the Timpanogots. When Escalante's description of the people in Utah Valley is compared with later encounter accounts, separated by less than seventy years, it can be seen that changes had occurred as a direct result of contact with the Spanish and Anglo-Americans. The Utes of Utah Valley and central Utah by at least the 1840s had acquired horses and firearms, making them very formidable to their traditional enemies the Shoshoni and influential in their trade relations with other tribes. This change displaced their natural economy with what ultimately became a dependent one.

Another important participant in the opening of the West was John C. Frémont—a topographical engineer in the United States Army. Frémont kept careful notes and made thoughtful observations during his 1843–44 expedition, carefully describing the animals, vegetation, and land. Mormon leaders in Nauvoo, Illinois, carefully read Frémont's report and considered his findings as they were preparing to leave Nauvoo for the West.

Frémont's various exploring parties were one expression of official interest by the United States in the western territory still claimed by Mexico. On his return to the States from California, Frémont once again traveled through Utah. On 20 May 1844, three days south of Utah Lake by horse, Frémont encountered Chief Wakara. Frémont



One of the main structures on the nine hundred acre Spanish Fork Indian Farm sometime in the early 1860s. (Special Collections, University of Utah)

later wrote, we “met a band of Utah Indians, headed by a well-known chief, who had obtained the American or English name of Walker, by which he is quoted and well known.” Frémont continued his description of the chief and his party: “They were all mounted, armed with rifles, and use their rifles well.”

Chief Walker and his warriors were heading south towards the Spanish trail, to levy their usual tribute upon the great Californian caravan. . . . They conducted their depredations with form, and under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country. Instead of attacking and killing, they affect to purchase—taking the horses they like, and giving something nominal in return.²⁷

Frémont and his small company spent several days in Utah Valley before resuming their journey eastward, and Frémont reported favorably about the land and water of the valley. “In the cove of mountains along its eastern shore,” he later wrote, “the lake is bordered by a plain, where the soil is generally good, and in greater part fertile: watered by a delta of prettily timbered streams.”²⁸

Within three years following Fremont's visit to Utah Valley, Mormon pioneers were traveling on the Oregon Trail to the Great Basin. In June 1847 Brigham Young encountered famous frontiersman Jim Bridger as the Mormons made their approach to the Great Basin. Bridger advised the Latter-day Saints to stay away from Utah Valley, as "the Utah tribe of Indians inhabit the region around Utah Lake and are a bad people. If they catch a man alone they are sure to rob and abuse him if they don't kill him. . . . They are mostly armed with guns."²⁹ This word of advice from Bridger may have settled the query as to where exactly in the region the Mormons were to settle.

Shortly after the arrival of the Mormon pioneers to the Great Salt Lake Valley, the Timpanogots of Utah Valley faced a renewed challenge—something unseen and deadly—European diseases. Death from disease carried by Mormon settlers was not their first encounter with this hidden enemy, but now permanent and perpetual association with Mormon settlers brought increased terror and bewilderment to the Indians of Utah Valley and of the Great Basin in general.³⁰

Although generally peaceful interaction between the pioneers and the Indians continued through the winter of 1847–48, in March 1848 the first hostile action occurred in present-day Utah County when a forty-five-man posse was sent to Utah Valley in pursuit of a group of Timpanogots Utes who had stolen a horse and seventeen head of cattle. Although no fighting occurred between the two groups as they met each other east of Utah Lake, the incident did demonstrate the Mormons' resolve to protect their domestic herds from Indian "depredations," a common term used in the nineteenth century by white settlers to describe Native American actions against property, domestic cattle, crops, and people.³¹

Many Indians found the domesticated animals an easily obtainable food source; also, wild game in the region was on the decline, and this had severely altered the delicate food chain of the Ute people. Microbes carried by the settlers' livestock, which had established their own immunity, were introduced to wild game of the Great Basin, adding to the decline of wild game. Other factors also help explain the decrease in food sources, which had begun even before permanent white settlement in the region: recent climate changes, disease introduced by the mountain men, and the devastat-

ing impact of the horse and gun to Native American culture.³² The introduction of horses and cattle also impacted other food sources. After white settlement, domestic livestock competed with the Indians who utilized the grass seeds as food.

The Latter-day Saints attempted to draw native people into the orbit of Mormon agricultural settlements, Indian farms, where Indians were provided food, clothing, and work. Church leaders were apparently too optimistic, however, and, in some cases, underestimated the strength of Indian culture and tradition.³³ Even before they arrived in Utah, the Mormons hoped to redeem what they considered a remnant of the house of Israel. In Nauvoo, they wrote that the Indian (or the Lamanites, as the Mormons called them) “shall then drop his disguise and stand forth in manly dignity, and exclaim to the Gentiles . . . I am descendent of that Joseph who was sold into Egypt. You have hated *me*, and sold *me*, and thought I was dead; but low! I live and am heir to the inheritance, titles, honours, priesthood, sceptre, crown, throne, and eternal life and dignity of my fathers, who live for evermore.”³⁴

These outcomes did not happen, however; and the pioneers were forced, once they arrived in the region, to reconcile their image of the Native Americans (whom many believed would immediately accept the gospel and join with them in building God’s kingdom on earth) with the Native American culture they actually discovered.

Like other Indian people in North America, the Timpanogots of Utah Valley eventually bowed to American hegemony in the region, but not without armed resistance. The number of Indian-white hostile encounters in present-day Utah County highlights a period of conflict between the Utes and the new settlers. Single events included encounters at Battle Creek (1849), Pleasant Grove (1850), and Cedar Valley (1850); larger ones included battles at Rock Canyon, Provo, Peteetneet Creek, and Table Mountain in 1850. During the Walker War (1853–54) conflict occurred at Springville, Payson, Summit Creek (Santaquin), the Goshen marshes, and Clover Creek. Other battles were fought in the Tintic War (1856) at Cedar Valley; during the Goshute War (1860–63) at Camp Floyd between whites and the Goshute Indians who lived west of Utah Lake; and, finally, in the

Black Hawk War (1865–67) at Diamond Fork, Palmyra, and Spanish Fork.³⁵

Despite Brigham Young's desire to maintain peace, the conflicts of the period were sometimes brutal and bloody. Both Native American warriors and white militiamen killed noncombatants, including women and children. Of note, however, is the fact that the Indians were never totally united. Also, the number of warriors apparently was always smaller than the number who stood on the sideline or those who sought accommodation with the pioneers. Finally, interband and intertribal rivalries always gave the Mormons Native American support. Starting with the first incident at Battle Creek (present-day Pleasant Grove) in 1849 when a militia force from Salt Lake City killed four warriors who had taken cattle earlier, the Mormons were aided by other Timpanogot Utes.

During the same year, Wakara welcomed the Mormons as possible allies in hopes of gaining ascendancy over his Timpanogot enemies in Utah Valley. In May he told Dimick Huntington: "It was good to kill the [Timpanogot] Utes." Wakara invited the Mormons to "settle a [company] in his valley—200 miles South [possibly present-day Iron County]."³⁶ Although a Southern Paiute band lived in the area, Wakara claimed ownership of the region through force of arms. In inviting the Mormons to establish a settlement there, Wakara hoped to gain a powerful ally and additional trading opportunities.

The first major conflict occurred in 1850 when a Ute was killed by three residents at Provo, increasing tensions between the settlers and the Native American population. Apparently, local residents did not make a full report of the incident to Salt Lake City officials. Under the impression that the Indians were prepared to attack without cause, a group of militia was dispatched from Salt Lake City to Utah Valley with orders to exterminate all hostile warriors. The resulting fight and pursuit left one militiaman and at least twenty-six Utes dead; apparently, eleven of them were killed after their surrender. The swift action accompanied by deadly force did not end war-like activities, however.

Sporadic hostilities continued, usually as a result of cattle raids by Native Americans looking for food. Finally, beginning in the fall of 1853, a large number of Western Utes tried to drive the Mormons



Native Americans camped in Edgmont during their annual visit to Utah Valley from the Indian Reservation in the Uintah Valley during the early 1920s. (Norma Smith Wright)

from their settlements in what is now known as the Walker War.³⁷ Tensions over pioneer expansion, a decline in Indian population resulting from disease, the continued decrease of natural food sources, and LDS leaders' efforts to stop slave trading exploded in July at Spring Creek near Springville when an Indian was killed over a trade dispute with a white settler. The Utes responded by killing a militiaman at Fort Payson.

During the next ten months, under directions from Brigham Young, settlers took a defensive posture by building forts—"forting up," as it was commonly known—and making offers of peace. Young was committed more than ever to a defensive, almost pacifistic, policy. Just as the Indians were not united, with the result that several subgroups and chiefs chose different responses to the situation, some settlers and militiamen refused to comply with directives from Salt Lake City. During this conflict, some twenty-seven Ute warriors and eleven militiamen were killed. Eventually, Wakara met with Young and agreed to peace.

To help in the process of achieving a lasting peace, church leaders encouraged women to organize "Indian Relief Societies" during this period.³⁸ Established to prepare and collect clothing for Indians, especially women and children, LDS women gathered clothing and bedding valued at more than \$1,500. In addition, believing it was "cheaper to feed the Indians than fight them," Young appointed several white settlers as Indian farmers in 1851.³⁹ By the mid-1850s, the term "Indian farm" took the additional meaning as a geographically limited place where native people would live and cultivate the soil.

After the Walker War, Indian agent Garland Hurt arrived to help establish Indian farms in Utah, including one in Utah County.⁴⁰ Near Utah Lake, on the Spanish Fork River, Hurt designated 640 acres as a reserve and farm for the Utes. Work at the Indian farm commenced in 1856 when ground was broken in preparation for planting wheat, corn, potatoes, and turnips. Within a few years, Hurt had enclosed 900 acres at the Spanish Fork Indian Farm with a wall, dug a well, and added two large corrals. Eventually, with the establishment of an Indian reservation in the valley of the Uinta River by President Abraham Lincoln in 1861, Indian farms in Utah declined. The Indian farm at Spanish Fork was abandoned by the spring of 1862, and local residents and Native Americans stripped the facility.

A series of raids and skirmishes west of Utah Lake in 1856 resulted in more deaths in the Tintic War. In a letter written to Arapeen (a Ute leader and brother of the now-deceased Wakara) during this conflict, Brigham Young noted his frustration with both Mormons and Indians:

I sometimes think that if we could get a valley away off alone and could get all the Mormons that want to fight Indians and wont hear, and all the Indians that want to fight and wont listen . . . and let them fight till they were satisfied that it would be the means of making a good peace.⁴¹

White-Indian conflict continued in Utah County four years later when U.S. troops from Fort Douglas in Salt Lake slaughtered a group of Goshutes, beginning the Goshute War (1860–63).⁴² The Goshutes were not a Ute band, but they were part of the larger Shoshonean-speaking Native American groups who lived in the desert region west

of Utah Lake. The war erupted in Utah County near Camp Floyd when Indians responded to the threat of increased white expansion on their land. The Pony Express, the Overland Stage, and the transcontinental telegraph all ran through traditional Goshute land. The military had established Camp Floyd, while the Pony Express and Overland Stage established important stations along a line between Fairfield, Simpson Springs, Fish Springs, and Deep Creek. Additionally, Mormon farmers and ranchers moved into the region.

As many as 100 Native Americans and sixteen whites were killed in the Goshute War before peace was established with the signing of a treaty on 13 October 1863. This treaty, however, did not remove Indian claims to the land, but it allowed white incursion into the region and obligated the federal government to pay the Gosiutes \$1,000 a year for twenty years as compensation. Tabby, Adaseim, Tintsa-pa-gin, and Harry-nup signed the agreement on behalf of the Goshute Indians. Within a few years, however, some Goshute Indians abandoned many of the traditional ways of the people and eventually settled on farms at Deep Creek on the Utah-Nevada border and in Skull Valley. They refused to relocate to Indian reservations established for other groups, including those for their traditional enemies the Utes.⁴³

In February 1865 the U.S. Congress passed “an act to extinguish the Indian title to the lands in the Territory of Utah suitable for agriculture and mineral purposes.” Indian Superintendent O.H. Irish called the several bands of the Utes to meet at Spanish Fork. Dimick Huntington and George Bean, among the first permanent Mormon pioneers to arrive in Utah Valley, acted as interpreters. Brigham Young, though no longer territorial governor, was also invited by Irish to attend the meetings because of his influence with the native people.⁴⁴

An-kar-tew-its and Naup-peads of the Timpanogots band and Kibits of the Spanish Fork Utes attended the meeting, along with several other chiefs representing other Ute bands. Finally, the group signed a treaty on 8 June 1865. The Indians promised to move to the Uinta Valley within a year but received assurance that they could return to their traditional lands to fish, hunt, and gather roots and berries. In good faith, Irish, Young, and the Ute leaders left Spanish

Fork believing that they had done what was best for those involved. The treaty, however, was eventually rejected by the U.S. Senate in 1869. As the treaty made its long way to the unratified treaties file, the conflict which began in Sanpete County escalated to engulf central Utah in tragic and bloody war.

Many Utes, Paiutes, and Navajos united and attacked several settlements and locations, primarily in Utah, Sanpete, Sevier, and Piute Counties during what became known as the Black Hawk War.⁴⁵ As many as seventy settlers and militiamen were killed along with at least an equal number of Native Americans. Although tensions had been mounting for several years, the conflict officially began on 9 April 1865 when an inebriated settler pulled an Indian off a horse and attacked him during a discussion regarding the stealing of some cattle.

The insulted group of warriors, among them Black Hawk, left but promised to retaliate for the incident. Within a few days, Black Hawk and a number of other Utes killed several Mormons and escaped to the mountains with hundreds of stolen cattle. Within the year, Black Hawk and his men killed more than twenty-five white settlers and captured more than a thousand cattle. Although Black Hawk was able to unite dissatisfied and angry Indians of the Ute, Paiute, and Navajo tribes, he nevertheless did not gain the total support of all Native Americans on the Utah frontier. Many peaceful Indians and settlers fled their homes to avoid being caught in the middle of the war zone.

The federal government did not send troops to quell the revolt due to complex political conflicts between Mormons and government officials and the fact that church leaders minimized the conflict, not wanting more federal troops sent to the territory. Mormon militiamen went on forays to capture those responsible, making this a unique situation in the western Indian wars—a private war. Usually, U.S. troops swiftly attacked Indians, but in this case they were left to pursue hostile activities for an extended period of time without incurring the typical destructive military reprisals suffered by other groups.

As conflict continued, Brigham Young argued: "Our past experience with the Indian tribes with which we have come in contact has



Relatives act as pallbearers at the reburial of Chief Black Hawk at a town park of Spring Lake in May 1996. Black Hawk died on 26 September 1870 and was buried on the mountain above Spring Lake. Miners dug up his body in 1911 and stored the remains with a local physician. Later, the bones were donated to the LDS Church Museum of History and eventually stored at the BYU Museum of Peoples and Cultures until the reburial. (Kristan Jacobson, *Deseret News*)

led us to adopt as a maxim that it is cheaper to feed Indians than to fight them.” He continued: “The plan we now propose to adopt is to stop fighting altogether, and as soon as possible establish communication with the disaffected Indians and endeavor to make peace with them by means of presents.”⁴⁶

Young met with settlers in 1866 in Springville in an attempt to quiet growing white animosity during the period of turmoil. “The evil passions that arise in our hearts would prompt us to [kill the Indians], but we must bring them into subjection to the law of Christ,” he said. He pled with those present to forgive as the law of their gospel required them to do: “When they come to live in your vicinity again, let them come in peace. . . . Do we wish to do right? . . . Then let the Lamanites come back to their homes, where they were

born and brought up.” He reminded the group, “This is the land that they and their fathers have walked over and called their own; and they have just as good a right to call it theirs to-day as any people have to call any land their own.” He concluded that they should

deal with them so gently that we will win their hearts and affections to us more strongly than before, and the much good that has been done them, and the many kindnesses that have been shown them will come up before them, and they will see that we are their friends.⁴⁷

Many outsiders noted that Young had “pursued so kind and conciliatory a policy with the Indians that it has given him great influence over them.”⁴⁸ Even Indian agent Garland Hurt, often at odds with Mormon leaders, acknowledged the massive efforts by the Latter-day Saints to help the Utes and noted that in some cases it had become too great a burden on the average settler in the region to help the Indians with food and supplies.⁴⁹

Eventually, Black Hawk sued for peace, and a treaty was signed in 1868. The loose confederacy between the Indians began to unravel; nevertheless, sporadic raiding and killing continued until U.S. troops finally responded in 1872.

Both the pioneers and the Native American inhabitants of Utah Valley had mixed policies and motives during this period. The Utes wanted the economic advantages of Euro-American culture, and both parties wanted to gain some benefits from the encounter. Pioneer settlement was tolerated, but tensions arose when some Indians and settlers felt taken advantage of by the other group.

The white-Indian relations on the Utah Valley frontier included both conflict and cooperation. While the ending of the story—displacement of the native population by white settlers—is similar to events through much of the West, the drama was quite different. Indians continued to come and go among the settlers, interacting well into the early twentieth century. Even after the establishment of the Uintah Indian Reservation in 1861, many Indians continued to mix with the settlers, returning to the valley of Utah Lake annually to camp, fish, and trade. In 1871, for example, Brigham Young wrote LDS bishops in Utah County that they should assist Indians who had

recently come into the valley with “supplies such as flour, vegetables, a young steer, or anything to make them feel good, without being extravagant.”⁵⁰ As late as the 1920s, some county residents recalled Indians camping in a nearby field or meadow when they returned to their ancestral home in Utah County.⁵¹ The move to the reservation in the Uinta Basin was, in fact, a slow process, with many Utes resisting every step of the way. Apparently, according to U.S. government records, some Latter-day Saints assisted the Indians in their delaying tactics. And, once they were at the Uintah Reservation, many Indians tried to return to their homes.⁵²

Although this interaction reveals continued contact between the two peoples, the conflicts and confrontations of the period reveal a deep cultural chasm between them. During the 1870s the pioneers accelerated their efforts to bring the native people into the Mormon kingdom. Eventually, however, most of the Utes made their homes at the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in the Uinta Basin—ending another period of migration, adaptation, and change in Utah County.⁵³ Decades later, some Native Americans returned to the valley as the LDS church established its Indian Student Placement program, in which Native American children were placed in LDS homes while attending the public schools of the communities during the academic year. Also, increased scholarships and programs for Indian college students were made available at BYU—attracting to Utah County descendants of the people who first met on the Utah frontier.

ENDNOTES

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2. Janetski, Lupo, McCullough, and Novak, “The Mosida Site,” 182.

3. See Erlinda D. Montillo, “A Study of the Prehistoric Settlement Patterns of the Provo Area in Central Utah” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968).

4. Summary based on Joel C. Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers No. 116 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 17.

5. See George Hanson and William Lee Stokes, "An Ancient Cave in American Fork Canyon," *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 18 (1938): 3–13; and Joel C. Janetski, "Utah Lake: Its Role in the Prehistory of Utah Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (Winter 1990): 13–14.

6. See James M. Mock, "Archaeology of Spotten Cave, Utah County, Central Utah" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970).

7. C. Melvin Aikens and David B. Madsen, "Prehistory of the Eastern Area," in Warren L. D'Azevedo, ed., *Great Basin*, vol. 11, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 160, hereafter cited as *Great Basin*.

8. See Noel M. Morss, *The Ancient Culture of the Fremont River in Utah*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology Harvard University 12 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931).

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11. Janetski, "Utah Lake," 30.

12. Summary based on Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake*; Donald Callaway, Joel Janetski, and Omer C. Steward, "Ute," in *Great Basin*, 336–67; and Fred A. Conetah, *A History of the Northern Ute People*, Kathryn L. MacKay and Floyd A. O'Neil, eds. (Salt Lake City: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982).

13. Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake*, 33–34, 36.

14. Additional material on the life cycle of the Ute people is based on Anne M. Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes*, Papers in Anthropology No. 17 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1974); and Ronald W. Walker, "Native American Women on the Utah Frontier," *BYU Studies* 32 (Fall 1992): 87–124.

15. Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Ghost Dance, Bear Dance, and Sun Dance," in *Great Basin*, 662–64.

16. Judith Shapiro, "Kinship," in *Great Basin*, 620.

17. Walker, "Native American Women," 115.

18. Richard Van Wagoner and Steve Walker, "Chief Walker Revisited," *Utah Holiday* 20 (September 1981): 62.
19. Conetah, *A History of the Northern Ute People*, 2.
20. See Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake*, 4.
21. Ted J. Warner, ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal*, 53–56.
22. See John R. Alley, Jr., "Prelude to Disposition: The Fur Trade's Significance for the Northern Utes and Southern Paiutes," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1982): 107.
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26. Tina Kelly and Kathryn L. MacKay, "Wakara," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 615.
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28. *Ibid.*, 274.
29. William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City: Deseret New Press, 1921), 275.
30. Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, The Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 108.
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33. A review of LDS attitudes about Native Americans before the arrival of the Mormons in the Great Basin is found in Ronald W. Walker, "Seeking the 'Remnant': The Native American During the Joseph Smith Period," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Spring 1993): 1–33.

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37. Kelly and MacKay, "Wakara," 615.

38. See Richard L. Jensen, "Forgotten Relief Societies, 1844–1867," *Dialogue* 16 (Spring 1983): 105–25.

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47. *Deseret News*, 16 August 1866.

48. O.H. Irish to William P. Dole, 29 June 1865, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 150.

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51. Norma Smith Wright, interview with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, Provo, Utah, 11 January 1996, transcript in possession of author.

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CHAPTER 3

SETTLEMENTS IN UTAH COUNTY, 1849–1890

The natural course of the land dictated settlement for the pioneers in what some geographers call the Wasatch Oasis, a series of narrow crescents of arable land rimming the western flanks of the Wasatch Mountains from present-day Brigham City southward to Nephi.¹ Salt Lake City, located in the northeastern part of the Salt Lake Valley, was the first permanent Mormon settlement settled in 1847.

In December 1847 LDS church apostle Parley P. Pratt explored Utah Valley, and, by the spring of 1849, church leaders were ready to begin colonization of present-day Utah County, selecting a group of thirty men to become the first permanent white settlers. Teenager George Washington Bean was among the first group to move to Utah Valley. He later wrote of this consequential day: “On April 1st, my eighteenth birthday, we moved on to within about 2 1/2 miles of Timpanogos River (Provo River) when we were met by a young Indian Brave on horseback dashing toward us as fast as he could ride, throwing out his arms and performing all sorts of wild gesticulations.” When the young man got close to the group “he jumped off

his horse, threw his buffalo robe across our path and warned us” not to proceed. Apparently, the Timpanogots sent the young man, named Aug-a-Te Wats, to stop the group until an agreement could be arranged.

The colonizing group included Indian interpreter Dimick Huntington, who stepped forward and told the fearless young man that the Mormons wanted to be good friends to the Timpanogots. He further promised that the pioneers would “do them much good if allowed to settle with them.” As the young warrior rode off to report, the white settlers moved slowly toward the banks of the Provo River. Bean continued: “Presently a large party met us with the War Chief at their head and we all stopped and talked the matter over again.” Finally, the Timpanogots allowed the colonizing party to camp near the Provo River. Bean concluded his summary of the events of the day: “Many [of the colonists] had sucker fish for dinner but father and I had a fat stewed crane I killed with his rifle during the day, which was one particular event of my 18th birthday.”² The settlers eventually built Fort Utah along the banks of the Provo River. The initial site presented problems for the group of settlers, however. Periodic flooding became a real concern, so in 1850 a second fort was established somewhere in the vicinity of present-day North Park (500 West 500 North).

The first pioneers in Utah County, like the settlers in the Great Salt Lake Valley, faced several challenges establishing a permanent foothold. First, they were confronted with an unfamiliar environment. Second, they had to recreate features of Euro-American society and culture, such as education, music, and theater, that had enriched their lives before their trek west. Third, they had to interact with often-hostile federal officers when the region was assigned territorial status. And, finally, they had to come to terms with the tension between what they thought the American Indians were like and the Indian culture they actually discovered in the valley of Utah Lake.³

During a period of transition, the pioneers spread their settlements throughout Utah and Utah Valley. A rapid expansion occurred in 1850 when pioneers established several new settlements in Utah Valley: Alpine, American Fork, Lehi, Payson, Pleasant Grove (Battle

Creek), and Springville.⁴ Additionally, scattered farms were also established in Lindon and Pleasant View. Other settlements followed, including Salem (Pondtown), Santaquin, and Spanish Fork (1851); Cedar Fort and Palymra (1852); Fairfield and Lake View (1855); Mapleton (1856); Goshen (1857); Spring Lake (1859); Benjamin (1863); and Lake Shore (1868).

The purposes of the new settlements are better understood in light of nineteenth-century LDS church doctrine. Gathering, establishing Zion, and millennialism were the three important aspects of their bold vision to settle the Intermountain West. On a practical level, all efforts to found new communities were directed at “group survival and growth.”⁵ Starvation was not an imaginary threat to the Mormon settlements in Utah County in the early years, especially during the grasshopper invasion which began on a sultry day in August 1854. According to one county resident, William F. Rigby, “at times the sun would be darkened when [they] would pass over like a cloud.”⁶ Working from dawn to dusk, every able-bodied man, woman, and child fought the invaders in the attempt to save their crops. Advancing from garden to garden, from field to field, from community to community, the ravenous insects brought about a famine which extended from 1854 through 1856. Eating whatever they had remaining and adding wild mushrooms, sego lily bulbs, and many other roots and berries to their diet, the Mormons eventually established viable agricultural communities in Utah County that sustained them and their families.

Geography, economics, and church doctrine necessitated self-sufficiency. Long distances between Mormon colonies in the Great Basin and between them and the eastern United States required the Saints to produce their own food, manufacture their own goods, and take care of their own people. LDS church leaders hoped to achieve the twin goals of survival and growth through cooperation, central planning, and church direction.

The establishment of the Mormon settlements in Utah County was by and large a direct result of people being “called,” or assigned to move in a group, to a newly identified settlement site. However, as soon as a new settlement was established, satellite farming communities often grew up spontaneously near each vicinity. Additionally,

new settlers flocked to the established settlement without any direct assignment, usually following a family member or friend to the site. Those initially called often represented a cross-section of people (skills, trades, and occupations), assuring that the new community be as self-contained as possible. Religious and civic leaders of each new settlement were generally one and the same and were appointed in Salt Lake City before the group set out for its destination. Replacements and additions to the new settlement likewise were called, or at least obtained permission from church leaders. Each new colony was part of a larger plan toward self-sufficiency for the Mormon kingdom.

Historian Leonard Arrington has argued that the settlements in Utah Valley were originally planned to provide a center for livestock and grazing.⁷ When local Native Americans effectively prevented these efforts, as large herds were susceptible to raids, church leaders hoped that the fertile land would support a sugar industry, in an effort to supply the sugar needs of the entire territory. Sugar-beet seed and equipment from Europe were purchased and delivered, but after incurring \$150,000 in costs, church leaders recognized that the effort was a failure. Such setbacks in other areas (like the Iron Mission in present-day Iron County), led the Mormon leadership to redirect its efforts in such regions as Utah Valley, increasing agricultural production to provide work for newly arrived converts and to provide surplus that could be used to buy necessary imports. Efforts to establish industries continued on a smaller scale—community or valleywide—rather than territorial.

Agriculture became the basis of the Utah Valley economy, and, with an ample supply of water from the mountain runoff, Mormon church leaders exploited Utah Valley as a breadbasket for an ever-increasing population. Through church direction, colonists established a zone of continuous settlements along the base of the Wasatch Mountains known as the “Mormon Core.”⁸

Although the first settlement in Utah Valley was not established until 1849, with other communities in the valley being founded the following year, the 1850 census indicates that almost as many people lived in Utah County (2,026) as in Davis and Weber counties combined (2,320), even though Bountiful, Centerville, Farmington, and

Ogden had been settled at least two years earlier.⁹ One scholar has noted that the settlements were “a significant departure from the dispersed pattern of isolated farmsteads common elsewhere on the Western frontier.”¹⁰ The new communities in Utah Valley appear to have been settled as “completed villages,” with a variety of craftsmen and farmers and vocational skills present from the beginning. Unlike those in Davis (81 percent) and Weber (65 percent) counties, less than half the Utah Valley population (48 percent) in 1850 was employed in agriculture.¹¹

The 1850 census reported the presence of a large number of laborers, together with several blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, joiners, shoemakers, millers, tailors, coopers, teachers, one merchant, one gunsmith, and one clerk. Only Salt Lake County’s population compared to the diversity and percentage of various vocations within Utah County. Within one year of the establishment of Fort Utah, more than 2,000 acres in Utah Valley were prepared for cultivation. Aside from the improved acreage, an additional 10,591 acres were claimed as unimproved farmland. This land was primarily used as pasture for the expanding domestic livestock herds. The first harvest in the valley was promising; the settlers gathered 13,142 bushels of wheat and 5,882 bushels of potatoes. The settlers also harvested rye, oats, corn, barley, peas, beans, and hay—although in significantly lower quantities.

The presence of Timpanogots Utes in Utah Valley forced church leaders to encourage nuclear villages rather than the more dispersed settlement pattern found in the northern counties of the territory. The first buildings constructed in Provo were built in the form of a stockade or fort, similar to the fort in Salt Lake City. These forts in Utah County and elsewhere provided defense for the settlers and their livestock from Indian raids. The Tenth General Epistle of the presidency of the church in 1853 instructed people of the territory to make such preparations: “Active preparations are now in operation to wall in the cities and all the considerable settlements throughout the Territory.”¹²

Besides the obvious intent of Provo Fort and others, the nuclear Mormon village system encouraged greater community involvement in making roads, digging irrigation canals, building public buildings,

and erecting fences. The abundance of swift-moving streams also encouraged the development of villages in Utah County. Water power encouraged the establishment of manufacturing and food-processing operations. These developments helped promote more urban villages rather than the more basic agricultural settlements found elsewhere in the territory.

Utah County continued to outdistance its northern counterparts in population growth during the first decade following settlement, as LDS church leaders kept funneling new settlers to the valley as rapidly as it could support them. By 1860 the county's population reached 8,248 people. The combined populations of Davis, Weber, and Box Elder Counties stood at 8,386. Utah County, in fact, was not too far behind Salt Lake County, which had a population of 11,295.¹³ Several factors contributed to the increase in population in Utah County. First and foremost was the continued immigration of Latter-day Saints into the territory. Second was the Utah War (1857–58), when the far-flung “outer-cordon” settlements in California, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming were abandoned in 1857 and many settlers returned to Utah to establish new homes in the core area along the Wasatch Front, including Utah County.

Additionally, the relocation of most of the pioneers living in Salt Lake Valley and in all northern settlements in 1858 during the “move south” to vacate those settlements in the face of approaching federal troops contributed to a long-term growth in the permanent population of Utah County. Although most of the 30,000 Mormons returned to their homes following the successful, peaceful conclusion of the Utah War, some remained in Utah County. However, some county residents also left the area at the time. For example, a few residents of Lehi apparently learned from Weber County people who were living temporarily in Utah County that plenty of water was available for additional settlement in Weber County. The Lehi people relocated and established Plain City about ten miles northwest of Ogden in the fall of 1858.¹⁴

The 1860s saw a shift in settlement patterns in Utah Territory. While most of the growth during the 1850s centered in Utah County, the coming of the railroad in the late 1860s clearly helped to focus attention on the north. Provo for a time vied to be a primary termi-

nus on the railroad. When the 1850 federal surveying expedition of Captain Howard Stansbury suggested a southerly route, it appeared that the transcontinental railroad would come down Provo Canyon through the city of Provo. In the 1860s, however, the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads decided to complete the line along a more northerly route, going through Ogden. In 1860 Provo was nearly 30 percent larger than Ogden; but, in 1870, the population of the “junction city” had soared to more than 3,000 inhabitants, many being non-Mormons, whereas Provo grew only slightly. While the choice benefited Ogden’s economic base, it allowed Provo and Utah County to maintain their predominantly Mormon character.

Viewing the establishment of permanent white settlements in Utah County as being totally reliant upon central direction from LDS church leaders in Salt Lake City would be wrong. Undoubtedly, the unity and willingness of most Mormons to follow the direction and counsel of church leaders enabled the Latter-day Saints to move large groups of people across the ocean and the North American continent and to establish numerous towns and cities throughout the Intermountain West. Many Latter-day Saints, however, having followed church counsel by gathering to Utah, then made their own choice of where to settle within the Mormon core area.

Beginning in the 1870s, a number of individuals broke tradition and began to establish scattered farms in present-day Highland on the bench.¹⁵ This caused problems, however, for residents of Lehi and American Fork. The LDS bishop of Lehi, David Evans, sent an emotional appeal to Brigham Young asking him to stop the settlement of areas above the town. The residents feared, with good reason, that a new settlement might cut the water supply from Dry Creek. Eventually, the people on the bench were forced to fight for water and to locate new water sources. Of the original sixteen heads of households residing in Highland in 1880, only six were still located there in 1890. The costs in improving the land and the opposition to their farms by residents in nearby towns were expensive not only in terms of money but also in relationships with friends, neighbors, and the LDS church (ecclesiastical action was threatened against a few church members who persisted in taking water that others believed did not belong to them). Eventually, through secular courts, Highland’s rights

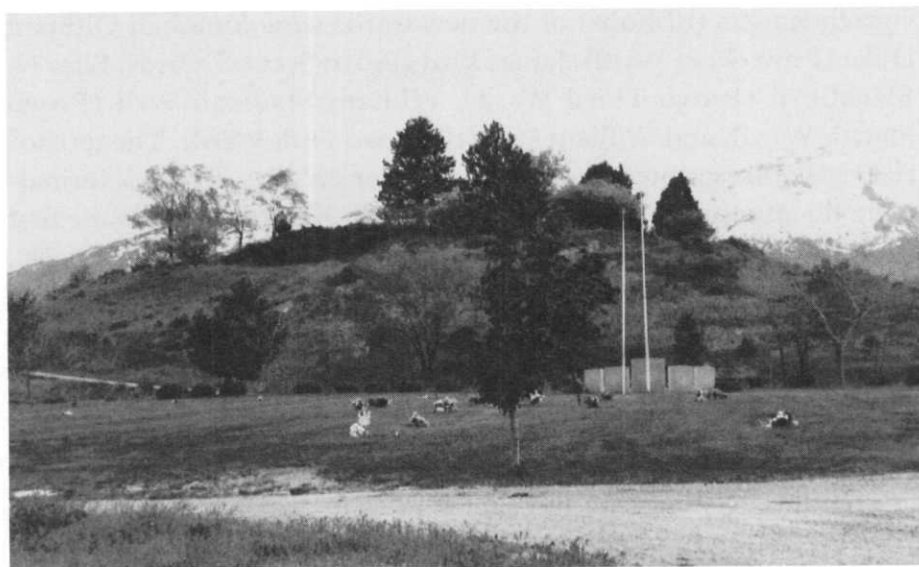
were established and delineated, and a community began to grow. An ecclesiastical organization was established on 13 March 1892, acknowledging what in fact had already happened—a settlement had been established.

An examination of the 1880 census records indicates that the Wasatch Front had experienced expanded growth. Utah County's settlements experienced substantial growth during the 1870s, increasing in population from 12,203 in 1870 to 17,973 in 1880.¹⁶ During the 1880s, more than 36,000 acres of improved farmland were added; nevertheless, the ratio of people per square mile increased, causing one person to report in 1885: "I find the [Utah Valley] settlements crowded up to their utmost capacity, land and water all appropriated, and our young people as they marry off have no place to settle near home—the resources of the people are exhausted, unless they go into manufacturing."¹⁷ By 1890 the population had grown by nearly 7,000 to 23,768. That same year, Alpine had 466 inhabitants; American Fork, 1,942; Benjamin, 417; Cedar Fort, 176; Goshen, 298; Lake Shore, 390; Lake View, 376; Lehi, 1,907; Payson, 2,135; Pleasant Grove, 1,926; Provo, 5,159; Salem, 527; Santaquin, 769; Spanish Fork, 2,686; Spring Lake, 93; and Springville, 2,849.

Only three communities in Utah had grown to cities exceeding 5,000 inhabitants—Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Provo. Provo was the third-largest community, but it was significantly smaller than Ogden (14,899) and Salt Lake City (44,843).¹⁸ Only five other Utah communities, three of which were in Utah County, had populations of more than 2,000 people—Payson, Spanish Fork, Springville, Bountiful, and Brigham City. Early maps of the Mormon core area would show the quite uniform spacing of hamlets and villages. Here follows a brief chronological account of the establishment of communities in Utah County between 1849 and 1868.

1849

Provo, situated in the heart of Utah Valley, was the first and principal settlement in the valley and has been for the most part the religious, political, economic, social, and educational center of Utah County.¹⁹ A Mormon church organization was established on 18 March 1849 when John S. Higbee was placed as the presiding elder.



The Alpine Cemetery was established just three months after the first permanent settlers entered Alpine as a result of the death of Edmond Nelson on 13 December 1850 from the effects of Mountain fever contracted during his journey to Utah from North Carolina. Originally known as Flag or Signal hill, the top of a rising knoll is now at the center of the northern Utah county community. (Robert C. Freeman)

The first local LDS church stake (roughly equivalent to a diocese) was organized in Utah County on 19 March 1851, was named Provo Stake, and consisted of all the Latter-day Saints residing in the settlements of Utah Valley. When Utah County was officially created in March 1852, Provo Stake was renamed Utah Stake and Isaac Higbee was called as stake president. In 1852, LDS church leaders in Salt Lake City called Apostle George A. Smith to preside over the church settlements in Utah County. Higbee served a second time as the president of the stake from 1854 to 1855) and was followed by James C. Snow (1855–58), Dominicus Carter (1858–60), William Miller (1860–68), and Abraham O. Smoot (1868–95).

A dramatic increase in LDS church organizations occurred in August 1852 when the local Latter-day Saints were divided into five wards (the basic ecclesiastical unit in the LDS church, comparable to a Protestant congregation or Roman Catholic parish). The ordained

church leaders (bishops) of the new wards were Jonathan Oldham Duke (Provo First Ward), James Bird (Provo Second Ward), Elias H. Blackburn (Provo Third Ward), William Madison Wall (Provo Fourth Ward), and William Fausett (Provo Fifth Ward). The territorial legislature granted Provo a city charter on 28 April 1851, formalizing the municipality as a legal entity. Ellis Eames served as the first mayor of Provo (1851–52), followed by Evan M. Greene (1853–54), Benjamin K. Bullock (1855–60), Ebenezer Hanks (1860–61), Andrew H. Scott (1861–62), Isaac Bullock (1862–63), Benjamin K. Bullock (1863), William Miller (1864–67), Abraham O. Smoot (1868–81), Wilson H. Dusenberry (1882–89), and John E. Booth (1890–91).

1850

Alpine, nestled in a pocket where the north-south trending Wasatch Mountains intersect a westering mountain spur about eighteen miles northwest of Provo, was established by William Wardsworth in September 1850.²⁰ Known briefly as Upper Dry Creek, Lone City, and Mountainville, an LDS church branch was established there on 10 February 1852, with Charles S. Peterson as the presiding elder. In September the branch was organized as a regular ward, with Isaac Houston as bishop; he was followed by Thomas J. McCullough (1852–93). The community was incorporated on 19 January 1855 as Alpine. Thomas McCullough served as the first mayor (1855–83), followed by Samuel W. Brown (1883–86) and George Clark (1887–90).

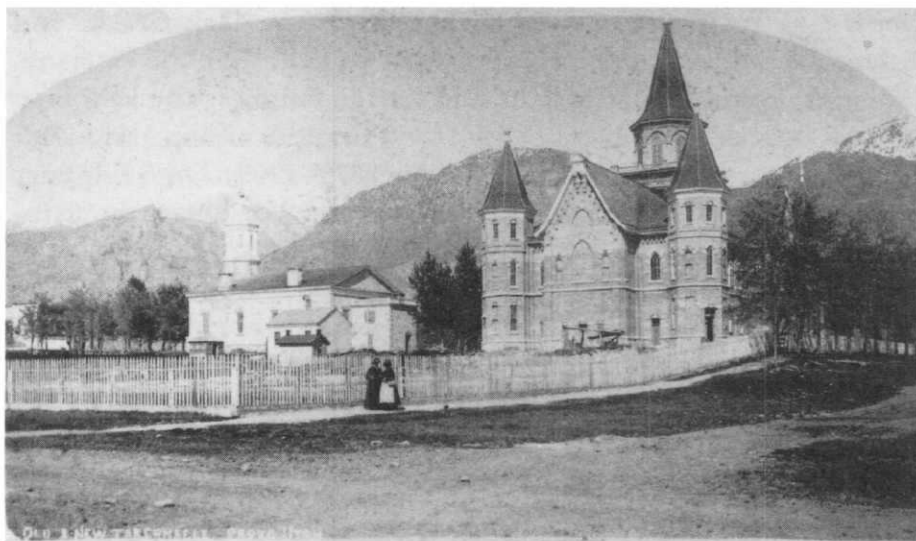
American Fork, located fifteen miles north of Provo, was identified as a ranching site in 1850.²¹ A nucleus of pioneers, including father and son Stephen and William Henry Chipman, father and son Arza and Nathan Adams, Leonard E. Harrington, and Matthew Caldwell, was attracted to the area by 1851. The settlement was organized into a ward on 25 May 1851, with Harrington sustained as bishop; he was followed by William Michael Bromley (1883–89) and George Halliday (1889–94). Officially incorporated on 4 June 1853, the settlement, known as McArthursville and later as Lake City, was renamed American Fork in 1860. Harrington was elected mayor (1853–82), followed by John McNeil (1882–83), Oscar F. Hunter (1883–86), and W.D. Robinson (1887–90).

Lehi, established in 1850 fifteen miles northwest of Provo, was

known at various times as Sulphur Springs, Dry Creek, and Evansville.²² Among the earliest to settle in Lehi were the Peterson, Hopkins, Evans, Fotheringham, and Karren families. The Lehi First Ward was established in 1851 with David Evans as bishop (1851–79); he was succeeded by Thomas R. Cutler (1879–1903). On 5 February 1852 the community was officially incorporated, making it the sixth-oldest community in Utah. At this time, the name was changed to Lehi. Silas P. Barnes was chosen the town's first mayor (1853–54); he was followed by David Evans (1854–61); John R. Murdock (1861–63), Lorenzo H. Hatch (1863–65), Isaac Goodwin (1865–67), Israel Evans (1867–69), William H. Winn (1869–75, 1877–79), Samuel R. Thurman (1875–77, 1881–83), Andrew R. Anderson (1879–81), Oley Ellingson (1883–87), George Webb (1887–89), and Samuel Taylor (1889–1891).

Payson, nestled against the foothills of the southern Wasatch Range about eighteen miles southwest of Provo, was originally settled by the families of James Pace, Andrew Jackson Stewart, and John Courtland Searle in October 1850.²³ A LDS church branch was established shortly after the first settlers arrived in the area, with James Pace acting as presiding elder. When Pace left Utah for a church mission to Europe, James McClellan was sustained as the presiding leader of the branch. Later, Benjamin Cross became the bishop (1851–59); he was followed by Lorenzo D. Young (1859–61), Joseph W. Young (1861–62), John B. Fairbanks (1862–71), and Joseph Smith Tanner (1871–91). Originally named after the nearby creek, Peteetneet Creek, the community was incorporated on 21 January 1853, covering the area south known as Spring Lake Villa and Summit (Santaquin) to the southwest. David Crockett served as the first city mayor (1853–59), followed by John T. Hardy (1859–63), Benjamin F. Stewart (1863–67), Orrawell Simmons (1867–75), Jonathan S. Page (1875–79), Joseph S. Tanner (1879–83), James Finlayson (1883–86), and John J. McClellan (1887–90).

Pleasant Grove (Battle Creek), located some twelve miles north of Provo, was settled in 1850.²⁴ A LDS church branch was organized in February 1851 and, in September 1852, George Sheffer Clark was appointed branch president. Henson Walker replaced Clark as the newly ordained Mormon bishop (1853–63); he was followed by John



A view in 1885 looking east showing side and rear of Old and back of New Tabernacle by F.I. Monson and Company. The Tabernacles in Provo were the symbols of Mormon authority and influence in the county during the nineteenth century. (LDS Church Archives)

Brown (1863–91). The community was incorporated on 19 January 1855, and Pleasant Grove residents elected Henson Walker as the first mayor (1855–62), followed by John Brown (1863–82), Hiram Winters (1883–84), Alfred G. Keetch (1885–88), and Joseph E. Thorne (1889–93).

Springville, located five miles southeast of Provo, was settled by Aaron Johnson, who led a group of pioneers to the area in 1850.²⁵ Originally known as Hobble Creek, the name was later changed to Springville. Johnson was the presiding leader of the community and was eventually ordained as the first LDS bishop (1851–70). He was succeeded in that calling by William Bringham (1870–83) and Nephi Packard (1883–92). The territorial legislature incorporated the town on 4 April 1853. Gideon D. Wood was elected mayor; he was followed by William Miller (1855–57), A.F. McDonald (1857–59), Lorenzo Johnson (1859, 1865–67), Abraham Day (1859–61), William D. Huntington (1861–63), Lyman S. Wood (1863–65, 1871–89), Cyrus Sanford (1867–71), and Alexander Robertson (1889–91).

Lindon, a farming district lying immediately south of Pleasant

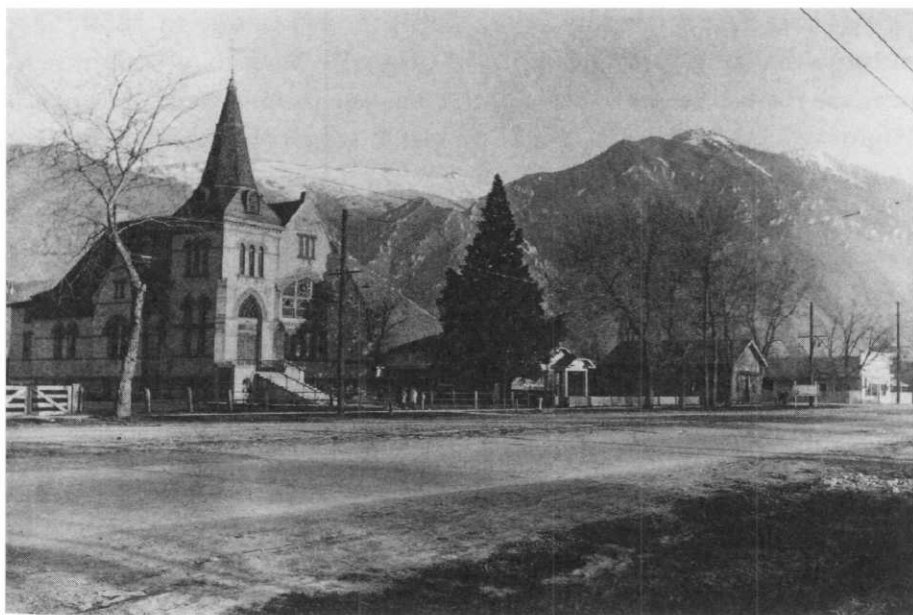
Grove, was first settled by Louis Robison and family in 1850.²⁶ An outgrowth of Pleasant Grove, it was originally known as Stringtown, because the homes were built along a single road—present-day U.S. Highway 89. Members of the LDS church were supervised by leaders in Pleasant Grove. A local Sunday School was organized in 1877. Finally, in 1890, members of the LDS church in the area were organized into wards: Pleasant Grove Second Ward (known later as Lindon Ward), with James Cobbley as bishop (1890–1904), and Pleasant Grove Third Ward (later known as Manila), with Knud Svendsen as bishop (1890–98).

Pleasant View, a farming district lying northeast of Provo, was first settled in 1850.²⁷ A Mormon ward was organized in 1852, known as the Provo Fifth Ward, but local settlers moved to Provo for safety during the Walker War (1853). People moved back into the area in 1858, extending their farms toward Provo Canyon. Because they were not organized into an LDS church unit until 1891, the people living in the area were under the direction of Provo LDS church leaders.

1851

Salem (Pondtown), located some fifteen miles southwest of Provo, was settled in 1851 by David Fairbanks and others.²⁸ Many of its settlers moved to Payson between 1852 and 1855 as a result of Indian-white conflicts. Pondtown was permanently established in 1856. Lycurgus Wilson was appointed to act as presiding elder of the LDS community in 1857. When a regular ward was organized in 1859, David Rainey acted as bishop and was succeeded by Bryan Jolley, who left for southern Utah in 1862. During that year, the ward was reorganized into a branch again, with Moses Curtis acting as presiding leader under the direction of Payson Ward leaders. Curtis was succeeded by John F. Shields (1864–69), Merlin Plumb (1869–70), and Robert H. Davis (1870–77). On 4 June 1877 Pondtown was reorganized as a LDS ward and renamed Salem, with Robert H. Davis as bishop (1877–79); he was succeeded by Charles D. Evans (1879–88) and David R. Taylor (1888–1910).

Santaquin, located at the extreme southern end of present-day Utah County, twenty-five miles southwest of Provo, was settled in 1851 by Benjamin F. Johnson and others.²⁹ Because of Indian diffi-



A turn-of-the-century photograph of Springville's Main Street by George Edward Anderson. (Utah State Historical Society)

culties, the site was soon abandoned, then resettled in 1856. Johnson served as presiding elder of the community until he left on a LDS church mission; at that time, James S. Holman was chosen bishop (1852–58). An unusual ecclesiastical organization was established in the settlement when pioneers returned to make a permanent settlement. Bishop Holman took charge of tithing collections; and Benjamin Johnson, recently returned from a mission, continued as presiding elder. This dual leadership lasted only a short time; William McBride soon was chosen as a new bishop—taking over the responsibilities of both Johnson and Holman (1858–65). McBride was succeeded by David Y. Holladay (1865–74), John D. Holladay (1874–75), George Holladay (1875–89), and Eli Openshaw (1889–95). The county court created a precinct on 21 May 1853, known as Summit Creek Precinct No. 7. Originally called Summit City, its name later was changed to Santaquin.

In 1850, Enoch Reece established a 400-acre farm about twelve miles south of Provo, in what is now Spanish Fork. In 1851 other settlers, including the Holt, Reed, and Pace families, arrived in the

area. John L. Butler was appointed to preside over the Spanish Fork settlement (1851–63) and was succeeded by John K. Thurber (1863–74) and George D. Snell (1874–91). The territorial legislature granted Spanish Fork a city charter on 17 January 1855; Matthew Caldwell was elected mayor (1855–58), followed by Dennis Dorrity (1858–61), William Draper (1861), George D. Snell (1861–63, 1873–83), Leven Simmons (1863–65), Albert K. Thurber (1865–73), William Creer (1883–87), Rufus P. Snell (1887–89), and John Jones (1889–93).

1852

Cedar Fort, located at the foot of the Oquirrh Mountain Range in the northern half of Cedar Valley, was first settled in 1852.³⁰ During the Walker War of 1853, the inhabitants moved to Lehi for protection, returning to their homes between June and September 1853. A LDS ward was established on 3 April 1853 with Allen Weeks as bishop (1853–76); he was followed by Henry Freeman Cook (1876–82) and Eli Bennett (1882–1906). The settlement briefly served as the county seat of Cedar County (1856–61) until it was reincorporated back into Utah County.

Palmyra, located seven miles south of Provo, was founded on the Spanish Fork River in 1852.³¹ In March 1853 Stephen Markham was ordained a bishop and set apart to preside over the Palmyra LDS Ward. The town was eventually abandoned sometime in 1856, under the advice of Brigham Young. Most of the settlers located farther up the river, where the site of present-day Spanish Fork had been chosen and where a survey of a city had already been made. At the turn of the century, the area was resettled.

1855

Fairfield, located five miles south of Cedar Fort in Cedar Valley, was first settled in 1855 by John Carson and others.³² When the federal troops known as Johnston's Army arrived in Utah in 1858 as part of the Utah War troubles, most of the settlers evacuated the site, but they returned once the soldiers left the area in 1862. William Cunningham presided over the group until the "move south" in 1858.

Upon the reestablishment of the town, John Carson was chosen as presiding elder (1862–95).

Lake View, a farming district lying west of Provo at the mouth of the Provo River, was settled in 1855.³³ Among the first pioneers were Mads Jorgensen, Lars Jacobsen, Stephen I. Bunnell, Thomas Gammon, Peter Johnson, and Peter Madsen. When floodwaters from the Provo River and Utah Lake rose, the inhabitants moved their homes to higher ground in 1861 and 1862. The people in the area were members of the Provo Third Ward; but with the river separating them from their church they organized a Sunday School on 17 July 1877, with Peter Madsen as superintendent. Within a few months, a ward was organized with Madsen as bishop; he served from 1877 to 1892.

1856

Mapleton, located ten miles southeast of Provo, was originally an agricultural extension of Springville, where several families began farming in 1856.³⁴ The settlement was known as Union Field, but, after the Walker War, the effort to farm Union Field as a cooperative stopped. John S. Fullmer and Cyrus Sanford were the first to reestablish farming activities on the bench, in 1872. On 21 August 1888 the Latter-day Saints in the area were organized into a ward with Edwin L. Whiting as the bishop (1888–90).

1857

Goshen, located in the Goshen Valley some thirty miles southwest of Provo, was settled in 1857.³⁵ The pioneers moved the location of the town to an area a few miles farther north in 1860 but found the new location not much better. Phineas W. Cook, one of the first settlers, was sustained as the local LDS church leader of the community. In 1860 William Price was made the first bishop of the newly created Goshen Ward (1860–1912).

1859

Spring Lake, located twenty miles southwest of Provo, was settled in 1859 when James Pace and James Butler and their families established homes at the site.³⁶ Benjamin F. Johnson was chosen as the first LDS bishop (1877–82); he was followed by Samuel Openshaw

(1882–83), John H. Moore, Jr., (1883–89), and German Ellsworth (1889–92).

1863

Benjamin, located ten miles southwest of Provo, was a natural outgrowth of Payson when Barry Wride settled there in 1863.³⁷ Eventually, as growth in the area increased, a townsite was surveyed in 1868. Benjamin Franklin Stewart was chosen as the LDS presiding elder (1868–85) and was followed by John Hawkins (1885–86). In 1886 the branch was organized into a regular ward, with Andrew Jackson B. Stewart as bishop (1886–1900).

1868

Lake Shore is located eight miles southwest of Provo and was an outgrowth of Spanish Fork. It was first the site of the Spanish Fork Indian Farm between 1858 and 1862.³⁸ A few settlers began establishing homesteads there in 1868. The settlement was organized into a branch on 9 May 1880, with Lorenzo Argyle as presiding elder, and a ward on 12 June 1886, with Argyle as bishop (1880–1913).

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CHAPTER 4

COUNTY GOVERNMENT DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD, 1850–1896

Utah County was organized on 31 January 1850 as one of the original seven counties of the territory. Great Salt Lake, Davis, Little Salt Lake (present-day Iron), San Pete, Tuilla, Utah, and Weber Counties were created by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret in Salt Lake City.¹ At first, the boundaries were rather indeterminate, as they were based on existing settled areas or proposed regions of settlement.

In March 1852, after territorial status had been given to Utah by Congress, the territorial legislature passed an act defining county boundaries and created four additional counties (Desert, Green River, Juab, and Washington). At the time, Utah County was a thin strip running east and west and bounded on the west by Tooele County and on the east by the territorial border (occupying portions of present-day Colorado). In 1856 Green River County annexed the eastern part of Utah County, greatly reducing its size.

During the next several years there were several attempts to reduced the county area through the creation of new counties. In 1856 Cedar County was created, with Cedar Fort as the county seat,

reducing Utah County's area. However, Cedar County was reabsorbed into Utah County in 1862. Settlers in Goshen Valley unsuccessfully petitioned Governor Brigham Young to create a new county, to be called Egypt County, in the late 1850s. (There also have been unsuccessful attempts in the 1980s and 1990s to reduce Utah County's area.) The present-day boundary between Wasatch and Utah Counties was established in 1884; since that time, no other changes have been made in the boundaries of Utah County.

With the establishment of Utah County came the governmental structure to govern it. County government consisted of a county court (one chief justice and two associate justices) and the offices of assessor and collector, clerk of the county court, judges of election (appointed in each precinct), justice of the peace and constable (at least one justice of the peace and two constables in each precinct), prosecuting attorney, road commissioner (a supervisor of roads in each district), and sheriff.²

County government consisted of a mixture of appointed and elected officials during much of the territorial period. The chief justice was elected by a joint vote of the general assembly, and the two associate justices were elected by the local county electorate. Later, the territorial legislature combined the office of chief judge of the county court and the probate judge of the probate court into one office—making the individual who presided over the court the probate judge of the county. Additionally, three individuals (selectmen) served in the court with the probate judge. The probate judge was elected by the territorial legislature and the selectmen were chosen by the electorate of the county.³ Originally, in 1852, the salaries of the probate judge and each selectman were set at three dollars per day when conducting county business.⁴ As already noted, the county court was presided over by the probate judge. The three county selectmen could act independently on matters of public welfare or in the case of business requiring immediate action when the court was not in session. While under the Mormons' provisional State of Deseret, the court had been primarily a judicial body, but the territorial legislature made it an executive body with board authority and jurisdiction in the county. The county court divided the county into road districts, vot-

ing precincts (subdivisions of the county), and school districts to facilitate county activity.

Within a short time it was apparent that additional officers were needed to conduct the business of the county, and, as a result, offices of a county recorder, county surveyor, estray poundkeeper, fence viewer, and a probate court (consisting of one judge and several selectmen) were established.⁵

The territorial legislature appointed Gershun G. Case as Utah County's first chief justice and probate judge and Joshua T. Willis and Duncan McArthur as the first associate judges in October 1851.⁶ One of the first items of business for the new territorial legislature was to legalize all the laws of the provisional State of Deseret that did not conflict with the Organic Act of 1850 establishing Utah Territory.⁷ The legislative action legitimized the county government enacted by the State of Deseret but retained the right to modify or eliminate offices in the county government and/or to change county boundaries and dissolve counties.

The probate court remained the most basic unit of government in the county during the territorial period, having responsibilities for education, health, herd grounds, irrigation, public buildings, bridges, roads, timber, waterways, and welfare. The court was given the right to grant licenses for liquor manufacturing and selling (1860); for butchers and meat markets (1865); and for auctioneers, brokers, circuses, menageries, merchants, money changers, pawnbrokers, peddlers, retailers, theatrical performers, and traveling showmen (1884).

In February 1852 Preston Thomas was selected by the territorial legislature as the probate judge in Utah County, replacing Gershun G. Case. By April, Judge Thomas, selectmen Alfred Bell, Dominicus Carter, and James McLellan, and clerk Lucius Scovil were functioning at their duties.⁸ During their first meeting, the selectmen and the clerk took their oaths of office, George Washington Bean was appointed assessor and collector, a tax was levied for road construction (which could be paid through work on the county roads), nine road districts were created (supervisors were appointed for each), fifteen school districts were established, and the court chose John Banks, Alanson Norton, and Joseph Kelly to act as common school examiners; it also set the elections for judges for 15 May 1852.

A typical meeting of the Utah County Court in 1865 reveals the variety of concerns and business that came before this body. During the first day of business, the court considered a land grant, held a one-hour recess, reviewed the grant previously awarded to S. Holdway in opening a road in South Fork Canyon, and reviewed (and dismissed) a petition by T.J. Patten and John B. Milner of the Slate Canyon Road Company. The treasurer presented county orders. During the second day of business, the court excused Selectman Orrawell Simmons so he could join Brigham Young at Payson; reviewed assessor and collector B.K. Bullock's tax bill and found that he was not in debt, forwarding its findings to the territorial treasurer; approved the organization of the Provo Bench Irrigation District; called for the election for the North Union Irrigation District; divided the county into seventeen school districts; reviewed a letter from the school superintendent; authorized appropriations for a young male pauper and for repair of a bridge; granted a petition for a herd ground; asked the clerk to furnish plans for the Provo bridge and a bill for material; and ordered the clerk to write road supervisors who had not yet filed bonds, requesting them to do so.⁹

By legislative enactment, the county court was a public welfare board. Duties included caring for the poor, indigent, insane, and orphans, and supervising quarantines. Each member of the court apparently was given great latitude in fulfilling this aspect of the court's responsibility; however, general policies were usually agreed upon, and then each member of the court was allowed to move ahead in performing his duties. The court members were, however, required to report their activities in this regard to the court.

Representative of such a situation was the work of A.K. Thurber in 1873. Smallpox broke out in the home of Nathaniel Hanchett in Salem during the year. Thurber, a county selectman, immediately ordered a guard posted at the residence to ensure that no one entered or left the premises without permission. During the next day, Thurber attempted to get the court together to discuss what should be done but was unable to do so. He moved ahead and designated the home a "pest house" to be used in future quarantine cases. Finally, the county court met to discuss the situation and, during its proceedings, approved Thurber's actions. In addition, the county court

established a three-man board of health to investigate all health cases reported and to determine whether the persons should be moved to the pest house.¹⁰

Taking care of the poor and insane also occupied the time of the county court. In most cases, the court found a “guardian,” who, in return, billed the county for expenses related to the care of the individual. The court also paid the bills for funerals and burials of those who could not afford the costs.

Road and bridge building were some of the most important aspects of developing viable communities in the county. Roads and bridges not only provided means of transporting people and goods to other communities but also allowed local residents access to the natural resources in the county. Though each petition was different, representative of the county court’s actions was Benjamin F. Stewart’s petition to build a road into Peteetneet Canyon. He and a group of men were authorized to do so, with certain restrictions. They were to be known as a company, they were required to report their expenses to the court, and they were allowed to collect a toll of twenty cents for every load of wood, timber, or poles brought out by a span of horses or yoke of oxen. An additional five cents could be collected for each additional span or yoke. The price of labor for those working on the road for the company was set at \$1.50 per day for a laborer, \$2.50 for a man and team, and fifty cents for each additional yoke of oxen. Finally, the company was required to report its income semiannually.¹¹ The county records demonstrate a concern to see that the general community would benefit from the approved actions and to assure that those who opened up the road could receive a fair return for their investment.

Although most efforts to build and maintain roads were taken care of by toll or prescribed labor, sometimes the county was asked to assist financially in road building and maintenance. The Fairview Coal Mining Company petitioned the county to help it repair a road in Spanish Fork Canyon, for example, and the court approved the request but limited expenditures to \$500 on repairs of the road.¹²

The county court was also responsible for county roads that were built and maintained by county taxes. Though road supervisors were appointed, the court remained accountable for road work.



An 1875 Provo street scene by George Taylor. (Utah State Historical Society)

Suggestions for new roads or road improvements came from citizens of the county, demonstrating grass-roots democracy in an otherwise theocratic county government. In 1891 a petition from the Benjamin Precinct was brought before the court. These citizens wanted improvements made to their road to eliminate three unnecessary miles of travel. A selectman was sent to investigate and, following his recommendation, the court accepted the petition, which included furnishing the stringers and planks for a ten-foot bridge.¹³

Management, control, and distribution of water were other important responsibilities of the county court. On 21 May 1853, three men were granted exclusive rights to water at the mouth of American Creek Canyon to power a gristmill.¹⁴ In the agricultural settlements of Utah County, controlling livestock was an important responsibility of the court. In August 1854 P. Colton and Benjamin K. Bullock requested the grant of a herd ground on the north side of Provo. The court approved the petition for a one-year period.¹⁵ The court often turned to church leaders to oversee this important task of supervising herd grounds. The grant for a herd ground in Cedar

Valley was approved, giving Allen Weeks “and his successor in the office as Bishop of that place” the right to supervise this operation.¹⁶

County courts were also responsible for the prosecution of crime and the care of criminals while in custody. The court paid the fees of the prosecuting attorney, sheriff’s expenses, and jury fees.

Liquor control could be a problem in the county. Originally, liquor licenses were granted by the territorial governor; however, in 1860 the right was given to the county court. While not all petitions of those seeking to manufacture and sell whiskey in the county were granted, some were given. For example, Orrin P. Rockwell was given the right to sell “Ardent Spirits at the Hot Springs after paying ten dollars per anum for his license.”¹⁷ When licenses were granted, a substantial fee was required. In 1866 George Comen was required to pay sixty dollars per quarter for the privilege of selling or making beer. For “spirituous liquors,” the fee was \$120 per quarter, which was to be collected in advance for one year.¹⁸

The court was apparently responsive to citizens’ complaints. In 1880, for example, two individuals applied for a license to sell liquor at the mouth of Provo Canyon. The court noted:

That said application be not granted as the Court is not satisfied that it is expedient for the public good; as many of the citizens of Provo Precinct have expressed their objections to the granting of such license in said Precinct. But if a majority of the citizens of Provo Precinct will indorse the granting of said license, then this court will reconsider the matter.¹⁹

Three months later, the court did reconsider the matter, but the petition was again denied on the same grounds.²⁰

The county court was directly responsible for determining county taxes; however, considerable authority to levy and collect taxes was given to the assessor and collector and district school trustees. Two primary taxes—property tax and poll tax—at the county level were allowed by territorial law. During this period there was a territorial tax and, between 1862 and 1872, a federal income tax levied in addition to the county taxes. County taxes varied considerably during this period; and certain organizations (military organizations, religious societies, and public schools) were exempt from taxation. The

territorial legislature determined the extent of the county tax but did provide in the law the possibility for the county to levy a special tax—with voter approval. (Apparently, the right to levy any tax, except the poll tax, was taken from the county in 1862 but restored in 1863 with a ceiling of one-fourth of one percent a year.) Territorial law allowed county officials to seize and sell personal property for uncollected taxes.

The court's responsibility in the collection of property tax was to furnish the assessor and collector a list of county taxpayers. Items such as residences, land claims, vehicles, animals (cattle, horses, asses, mules, sheep, goats, and swine), clocks and watches, stocks, gold, and silver were used to determine individual wealth in 1854. In 1869 irrigated land and commodities (wheat, oats, barley, corn, potatoes, carrots, beets, meadow, apples, peaches, and grapes) were added to the list. Because the assessor and collector were directly responsible to the county court, they often appeared before this body to expedite their business. In 1879, for example, George M. Brown, collector for Utah County, reported that he had "exhausted" several properties of delinquent taxpayers.²¹

The poll tax, on the other hand, was specifically used to construct and maintain roads and bridges. Originally, every man over the age of eighteen was considered a "poll" and was required to pay the tax. In 1862 the law changed the age to include men between sixteen and fifty. This tax could be paid in cash or by work on the county roads. Apparently, two days' labor per year or three to four dollars was the general assessment.

During the early years, the county court met in church buildings and schools until sufficient funds could be collected to erect a county building, jails, and courthouse. George Washington Bean, the probate judge in 1873, recalled:

Utah County had outgrown the little Courthouse built in 1866 on the [Provo Woolen Mill] lot, and now larger quarters were very necessary, so I, together with the other officials, began to plan a large building and a jail. The new courthouse was to cost \$50,000. The contract was let to J.C. Snyder, Smoot and Company and erected under my supervision.²²

When the building was completed, A.O. Smoot reported that its costs were no more than \$21,500—which included the cost to erect a privy and a jail fence.²³

In 1878 the territorial legislature itemized certain specific powers of the county and placed some restrictions on the activities of its operation. First, the legislature identified the county as a corporate body, declaring that the county had the power to sue and be sued, make contracts, purchase and sell property, and levy and collect taxes under its corporate name (the name of the county). Second, the legislature prohibited the county from incurring indebtedness it could not repay with the unpaid taxes of the current fiscal year, and it was prohibited from loaning money or giving credit unless expressly authorized to do so by law.²⁴ The court was designated as a county board of equalization by another law passed that year.²⁵ Later, the legislature authorized the county court to equalize district school taxes in the same manner.²⁶

Utah County records indicate that the county court met in special session each July as a board of equalization, with the primary purpose of adjusting tax roles. Some petitions were granted; others were rejected. In 1888, for example, Spanish Fork resident David Evans's petition to reduce the valuation of his real estate by \$250 was accepted. At the same time, the court remitted more than \$1,000 in school and county taxes and completely abated nearly \$500 more.²⁷ Later, two Lehi residents claimed they did not have sheep in Utah County and therefore asked that their assessment of \$24.75 be stricken; but the court discovered they did have sheep in the county the previous spring and therefore did not grant the petition.²⁸ Three years later, the Oregon Short Line and Salt Lake and Western Railway's assessment was reduced.²⁹

County officials' salaries and disbursements for roads and bridges, major building projects, including jails and county courthouses, and operation of the county court, such as expenses incurred in criminal prosecution, elections, and welfare expenses, were paid by taxes collected and by license fees, fines, and rents collected. In 1869, for example, Utah County collected money from several sources: taxes (\$5,822.63), pounds (\$425.05), justice court fines (\$135.00), probate court fines (\$495.12), and miscellaneous sources (\$232.76).

Major expenditures for the same year included roads and bridges (\$2,508.00), court operating expenses (\$884.50), collector's percentage and remitted taxes (\$1,492.38), election expenses (\$101.46), delinquent taxes (\$3,963.19), and aid of the probate court (\$762.06).³⁰

By 1880, as might be expected, the amount collected had greatly increased since 1869. Taxes had risen to \$8,050.74, pounds were \$201.65, justice court fines were \$210.00, licenses were \$100.00, courthouse rent was \$500.00, delinquent taxes that year were \$528.90, redemption of real estate sold for taxes was \$120.20, interest was \$10.30, territorial compensation was \$383.20, and reimbursement from other counties for criminal prosecution was \$135.25. Expenditures for the same year included highways (\$642.00), care of the insane and paupers (\$2,736.50—the largest expenditure that year), criminal prosecution (\$1,283.80), general expenses (\$959.60), courthouse care (\$1,041.65), jail (\$100.25), elections (\$431.85), school expenses (\$986.90), recorder and surveyor's offices (\$1,900.00), salaries (\$200.00), assessor and collector's compensation—county portion (\$816.80), assessor's and collector's compensation—territorial portion (\$385.20), holding inquests (\$57.20), pound expenses (\$54.50), tax and cost of real estate sold to county (\$162.50), and water commissioner's compensation (\$50.00).³¹

Before statehood was granted to Utah in 1896, the structure of county government naturally became more complex, as an ever-increasing population in Utah County necessitated an increase in official responsibilities and the establishment of new county officials such as a fish and game commissioner and county bee inspector. Though some county officials originally held appointed offices, by the end of the territorial period most county officers were elected by the citizens of the county. Nevertheless, all the county officials remained responsible to the court, even though a few also had the responsibility to report to territorial officials.

As the federal government began enforcing congressional laws against Mormon polygamists and increased its efforts to eradicate LDS church authority in the territories in the 1880s, the national government limited the role of county government and took away the right of Mormon polygamists and all women to vote in local elec-

tions or serve in elected offices. Such actions, however, as will be seen, were not the first time county residents found themselves in a struggle against increased federal control in the region.

ENDNOTES

1. See James B. Allen, "The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (Summer 1955): 262–76.

2. *Ordinances passed by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret* (Great Salt Lake City, 1850), 19, 22–23, 26–27, 32–34. See also *Inventory of the County Archives of Utah No. 25, Utah County* (Ogden: Utah Historical Records Survey, 1940), and James B. Allen, "The Development of County Government in The Territory of Utah, 1850–1896" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956). For a complete list of county officials during this period, see the *Inventory of the County Archives*.

3. In 1874 the federal government required the probate judge to be elected by the county electorate, and later (1887) gave the president of the United States the right to appoint the probate judge.

4. The salary of the probate judge was set at \$500 per year in 1875, \$700 per year in 1879, and \$1,000 per year in 1884.

5. *Ordinances passed by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret* (Great Salt Lake City, 1851), 22–24, 73, 76.

6. *Ibid.*, 76.

7. *Acts, Resolutions. And Memorials passed and adopted during the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Henry McEwan, 1866), 108.

8. Utah County, "Court Minutes," Book A, 7–10.

9. See *ibid.*, 263–371.

10. *Ibid.*, Book B, 132–34.

11. *Ibid.*, Book A, 20.

12. *Ibid.*, Book B, 257.

13. *Ibid.*, 536.

14. *Ibid.*, 32.

15. *Ibid.*, Book A, 46–47.

16. *Ibid.*, 59.

17. *Ibid.*, 163.

18. *Ibid.*, 301.

19. *Ibid.*, Book B, 532.

20. *Ibid.*, 556.

21. Ibid., 511.
22. George Washington Bean, *Autobiography of George Washington Bean, A Utah Pioneer of 1847*, Flora Diana Bean Horne, comp. (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1945), 165.
23. Utah County, "Court Minutes," Book A, 157–58.
24. *Laws, Memorials, and Resolutions of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Star Book and Job Printing Office, 1878), 3–4.
25. Ibid., 16
26. *Laws of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1886), 16.
27. Utah County, "Court Minutes," Book C, 330.
28. Ibid., 332.
29. Ibid., 541.
30. "County Financial Reports for the year 1869," Utah Territory Administrative Records, 1851–1869, 14, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
31. *County Financial Reports for the years 1880 and 1881* (Salt Lake City: T.E. Taylor, 1882), 98–100.

CHAPTER 5

FEDERAL CONFRONTATION AND RECONCILIATION, 1850–1890

The failure of the U.S. Congress to grant statehood to the people of Utah in 1850 was an ominous notice to the Mormon pioneers that they could not totally govern themselves, since the president had the power to appoint territorial officials. Party politics in Washington, D.C., created a revolving door of territorial appointments.¹ Although the system did not necessarily promote corrupt or inept officials, the Utah experience left much to be desired, since many judges sent to Utah during the 1850s were inexperienced political appointees. Additionally, they were outsiders—non-Mormons from other states in the Union.

In the 1850s many federally appointed judges and territorial officers returned from Utah complaining in the most bitter terms of the Mormon church's control in the territory. Additionally, the nation was shocked when Mormon leaders officially announced the practice of plural marriage in 1852. In response to complaints and rumors, in 1857, without informing Utah Governor Brigham Young, U.S. President James Buchanan sent a large army led by Colonel Albert

Sidney Johnston to install a new governor and, if necessary, to quell a purported Mormon rebellion.

When news arrived in Utah that the army was on its way, Young considered the army to be a another anti-Mormon mob. The muster rolls of the local militia (Nauvoo Legion) soon swelled from several hundred volunteers to a force of more than 5,000 men. Lehi's militia captain, Sidney Willes, mustered a cavalry consisting of thirteen men in September 1857 to join forces with Captain Lot Smith to harass the invading forces by driving off stock, destroying animal fodder, and burning supply trains. These guerrilla-type maneuvers forced the floundering army to winter on the high plains in present-day Wyoming. Yet the Mormons knew that in the spring the army could, with reinforcements and fresh supplies, make its approach to Utah. Having doubts about the progress thus far, Buchanan allowed a long-time Mormon supporter, Thomas Kane, to negotiate for peace.

Brigham Young wanted to avoid bloodshed but was determined not to let the army occupy any of the settlements. On 26 March 1858, county residents learned that the Saints in the northern counties were ordered to "move south," meaning relocating to Utah County and other points southward. Before doing so, homeowners were to prepare their houses to be torched, if necessary, to keep the dwellings, foodstuffs, and crops from the invading army. Mormon bishops received special instructions from Young to assist those people who were vacating homes, including supplying wagons to help haul people and personal belongings to Utah County and in "raising all the potatoes, flax and sugar cane you may be able to do" for the estimated 30,000 who would be moving south.²

Residents throughout the county watched the movement of their fellow Latter-day Saints—a continuous stream along the state road from daylight until dark. Spanish Fork resident Henry Hamilton said that on 11 April he attended a meeting in the old fort and found many newcomers from Salt Lake County there. Two weeks later, at another meeting, he observed that a good many more newcomers were arriving.³ In northern Utah County at least twenty families camped in the Lehi meetinghouse. Others were boarded in private homes, and some burrowed in dugouts or slept in makeshift shelters

against the old fort wall. The same story was repeated in each community in the county.

In the end, peace was achieved between the people of Utah and the federal government in 1858. In an effort to avoid a flare-up, Brigham Young briefly canceled all church meetings. The bishops in Utah County were warned by Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter “to control all that may be said, for an enthusiastic Mormon is more dangerous than an apostate.”⁴

On 26 June 1858, Johnston’s Army, consisting of approximately 2,500 soldiers and another 1,000 civilian employees, began entering Salt Lake Valley. They proceeded through Salt Lake City, crossed the southern edge of the Oquirrh Mountains, and continued on to the level floor of Cedar Valley in Utah County. The troops established a temporary camp at Cedar Fort, or Upper Fort, about six miles north of Fairfield, a small Mormon town. After a short stay at this location, Johnston moved his soldiers to a position across a creek from present-day Fairfield, where they established Camp Floyd, named in honor of Secretary of War John B. Floyd.

Camp Floyd immediately became the largest military installation in the Intermountain West and the third largest city in Utah Territory (after Salt Lake City and Provo). The establishment of Camp Floyd and the growth of Fairfield increased the economic opportunities of many of the people in Utah County. The army not only paid county residents to help build the camp but also from time to time held auctions of surplus goods, paid for by American citizens’ tax dollars and then sold at low prices. At one sale, for example, the army disposed of 3,500 freight wagons. These oversized vehicles cost at least \$150 in the Midwest but sold in the county for ten dollars each. The army also provided other benefits to the county, including offering opportunities for large-scale purchases and trade business.

The presence of the army, nevertheless, had a negative impact on the community life of the basically homogeneous society in the county. The military camp was an annoyance at best; but Fairfield, where the civilians congregated, was a major aggravation. Most county residents called it the Sodom and Gomorrah of the Great Basin—full of prostitutes, gamblers, cattle rustlers, and other disreputable characters. Some 10,000 inhabitants moved in ankle-deep



Camp Floyd around 1858. Photo by David A. Burr. (LDS Church Archives)

muck after heavy rains or suffocated in the dust of summer. The stench of dead animals and human waste mingled with the rancorous noise of a boom town. The “wild west” was in the county, and there was no escaping the terror that engulfed the area. The lawless character of Fairfield was demonstrated in numerous outbreaks of violence. No one, including the hardened soldiers from Camp Floyd, felt safe without a weapon. Both the military officers at Camp Floyd and the local Mormon civic and religious leaders in the communities of the county found the town to be a source of mounting dissatisfaction.

For the conservative farming communities of the county, Camp Floyd and Fairfield broke the isolation from the rougher aspects of western America. Some camp officers tried to induce several women from nearby towns to engage in prostitution at the camp, and one officer actually sought to proposition the wife and mother of a family in which he was a guest. The influence of the Mormon church in the moral lives of its members was undermined as some members threw off the restraints of their religious upbringing and departed the

faith. "Camp Floyd Fairfield was full of rottenness and evil of every description," one Utah County resident noted. "I'm sorry to say our people of both sexes mixed up with them largely and of how bad it did look to see young ladies whose parents were faithful," he added.⁵

County residents continued to face many hostile federally appointed officers, particularly justices, following the arrival of the army in the region. This period was the beginning of another confrontation between some of the federal officials, soldiers, and non-Mormons on the one hand and a few government officials more sympathetic to the Mormon position on the other. The most serious battle in the courts was not fought in Salt Lake City; it took place in Provo—the county seat of Utah County.⁶

From Camp Floyd, associate judge John Cradlebaugh began an investigation into a series of murders, including what were known as the Parrish-Potter murders, committed near Springville. In the tight-knit Mormon communities of the county, those dissenting from the church often experienced social, economic, and political rebuff from their neighbors. In some cases, pranks against dissenters escalated, causing problems in social relations. When church dissenters William R. Parrish, his son, and Duff Potter were ambushed and killed, Mormon Judge Elias Smith concluded that the incident had been an "internal row" rather than a community conspiracy.⁷ The story remained clouded in controversy, however, and therefore of interest to Cradlebaugh, who concluded that the deaths were related to an effort to cleanse the community of an undesirable element.

In his effort to discover the truth in the numerous rumors circulating about these deaths, Cradlebaugh asked General Johnston to furnish a military escort for his court in Provo. On 7 March 1859 the judge and federal marshal Peter K. Dotson arrived in Provo accompanied by United States Army infantry. Troops moved from the outskirts of town to the city center, creating no small stir among the county's residents. The opening session of the Second District Court in the seminary building in Provo, a modest religious edifice the judge had leased for a federal courthouse, succeeded only in increasing the fears of the local Provo inhabitants that the army was sent to occupy their settlements. Cradlebaugh subpoenaed seventeen Springville citizens to appear and testify before the grand jury.

The judge used his office to decoy two men, Alexander F. McDonald and Henry Hamilton Kearns, into court, where they were arrested on a private bench warrant. Even Provo Mayor Isaac Bullock was arrested. Also charged in the Parrish-Potter murders was Bishop Aaron Johnson of Springville, who escaped arrest by fleeing into the nearby mountains. Hundreds of county residents assembled in Provo to protest the arrest of their leaders. A tense period ensued when the army was given orders to shoot any person caught stoning the field camp. If those responsible for the misconduct could not be identified, soldiers were ordered to fire in the general direction of the group.

During the ensuing days, several episodes of violence nearly erupted between groups of citizens and soldiers. Additional troops, some 800 men, were requested by local military officials from Camp Floyd to gather near Battle Creek. The group passed Lehi and Battle Creek and encamped near Provo Canyon, close to the site of the proposed non-Mormon settlement of Brown City (the territorial legislature denied the settlement petition). Engulfed by heavy snows and subzero temperatures, the camp moved over the ice-encrusted landscape to within two miles of Provo and settled in on the heights overlooking Springville and Provo. The soldiers shot at random targets and fired their cannons across the valley to notify the settlers of their presence. Under the cover of night, a force of 150 infantry and 50 dragoons descended from the military camp and secretly met with Marshal Peter K. Dotson in an effort to coordinate a surprise raid on Aaron Johnson's home.

Just before midnight on 2 April the military force penetrated the walls of the Springville fort and surrounded Johnson's house. The marshal, surrounded by a bodyguard of federal troops, forced his way into the bishop's home, only to find his nine wives. The women fought the intruders with pillows and blankets. Johnson had escaped. Discouraged but unwilling to give up the chase, Judge Cradlebaugh and Marshal Dotson deputized a dozen officers to search Goshen, American Creek, Sanpete, Manti, and the surrounding countryside for suspects wanted for questioning by the court. These efforts were largely thwarted when the Mormons established a string of emer-

agency outposts along the face of the Wasatch Mountains to oversee the soldiers' movements in Utah Valley.

Eventually, the settlers in the county waited until the judicial blizzard blew itself out. Local citizens showed that they were willing to protect their own from federal officers' probing. For most residents, this matter was seen as a local situation they intended to handle themselves. This attitude continued to be a stumbling block to better relations between county residents and many federal officials. In one final gesture of anger toward the citizens of the county, Judge Cradlebaugh dismissed four prisoners who were indicted by the grand jury for rape and two others who were confined for theft. "If this court cannot bring you to a proper sense of your duty, it can at least turn the savage in custody loose on you," he said.⁸

On 2 April 1859 Cradlebaugh began the second phase of his investigation and issued bench warrants for the arrest of the participants in the Mountain Meadows Massacre in southern Utah in 1857. He also bound over two Mormon prisoners to the army to stand trial for murder—an act that confirmed county residents' mistrust of the army. Judge Cradlebaugh and Marshal Dotson fell into position behind the army and marched out of Provo with the two prisoners. People lined both sides of the street to demonstrate their displeasure. Young boys taunted the soldiers on their way to American Fork, and the column hurried through the town and made its way to Lehi.

For most of the day, the army bivouacked near the outskirts of Lehi while the judge searched for information regarding the murder of Joseph Lance. Apparently, Maria Peterson, a wife of Canute Peterson, who was on a church mission to Scandinavia, was raped by Lance while she was searching for a lost cow north of Lehi in 1856. A complaint was filed, and Lance was brought from American Fork to Lehi to stand trial. While the prisoner slept, however, he was killed. The incident was Lehi's first murder. No one was brought to trial for the act, and apparently another case of "extralegal justice" had been carried out. Cradlebaugh, however, believed the rape charge against Lance was false and had been used as a pretext for murder. Unable to find any witnesses in Lehi, the army, along with the disgruntled judge, marched on to Camp Floyd.

The clash in the county in 1859 between the citizens and the fed-

erally appointed judge proved relatively brief. President Buchanan moved to check his military and political mavericks in the territory and sent reprimands. Even General Johnston was told he had exceeded his authority and that the arrests and imprisonments of the citizens of the county were illegal. U.S. Attorney General Jeremiah Black informed Cradlebaugh that he had overstepped his authority, that the president was of the opinion the governor alone had the right to requisition troops, that their appearance in Provo was unnecessary, that the custody of the prisoners was the marshal's duty, that the troops should not have been kept in Provo against the governor's will, and that such disregard for these rules endangered the political stability in the territory. The battle of wills ended, however, as the nation faced the possibility of a great civil war.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, the troops at Camp Floyd, now renamed Fort Crittenden after Secretary of War Floyd expressed Confederate sympathies, were called back East and the military installation in Cedar Valley was abandoned. Again, local Utah County residents benefited from the movement of the U.S. troops. The sale of nontransportable supplies at unusually low prices boosted the local economy. In the wake of the army's departure, the town of Fairfield rapidly declined, like so many other western boom towns. "Hell-roaring Fairfield blew out as suddenly as it had blown in," noted one observer.⁹

Many residents viewed events in the East and the outbreak of the Civil War with mixed emotions.¹⁰ Although they certainly felt the nation was being punished for its acts against the Mormon people, most nevertheless had profound regard for and belief in the divine nature of the U.S. Constitution. Such potentially conflicting emotions created a unique atmosphere in the county during this particular period of time. Nevertheless, county residents apparently supported, without demonstration, a federal income tax levied between 1862 and 1872, originally established to fund the Civil War.¹¹ George Washington Bean noted that he "continued duties of Assessor of Revenue for the support of the War."¹²

Battles in the courts continued, however, during the Civil War period. The 1852 Utah law that gave the county probate courts unusual powers to exercise original jurisdiction in both civil and

criminal cases was at the heart of this struggle. Ordinarily, probate courts did not have criminal jurisdiction. Nothing in the U.S. Constitution, however, prohibited the granting of such rights to the probate court and, in fact, some federally appointed justices agreed that it was within the province of the legislature to authorize probate courts to act in this manner. (Utah was not unique in broadening the jurisdiction of its local courts. The territories of Nebraska, Nevada, Colorado, Montana, and Idaho also awarded their probate courts limited extra powers.)¹³ The territorial legislature claimed that the federal district courts did not meet often enough, since there were not enough justices to meet the needs of the citizens of Utah Territory. Many judges in Utah as in other territories in the West did not fulfill their full term of service, so local citizens were often left without the necessary functioning court machinery.

It should be noted that the territorial legislature had provided an appeal mechanism for decisions of the county probate court to the federal district courts, and it also required the clerk of probate to file a transcript of the proceedings in such cases with the clerk of the district court within twenty days from the day of appeal. Some of the judges, however, attempted to set aside the jurisdiction of the probate courts. While some legitimate complaints against the concurrent jurisdiction of such probate courts with United States district courts may have offended these justices, it should be noted that the local county system also deprived them of actual business and fees.

At the height of the controversy, U.S. district court justice Thomas J. Drake, holding court in Provo, refused to recognize the right of the probate courts to issue naturalization papers. County records show that the local probate court had been active in granting petitions for U.S. citizenship.¹⁴ Additionally, other judges complained that the Mormons used the probate courts to circumvent the federal district courts. There is no question that the county probate courts conducted criminal and civil cases during this period. George Washington Bean noted:

I accepted the office of Prosecuting Attorney for Utah County and proceeded to punish the offenders against the Laws, in taking unlawfully, many cattle belonging to the Government from Camp

Floyd and elsewhere. I prosecuted before Judge Aaron Johnson, (Bishop) of Springville, being the Probate Judge, and the U.S. Courts lying dormant, it was considered necessary for the public safety, that criminals be prosecuted in the Probate Court. . . . I set to work and kept the Court going most of the year, and prosecuted one hundred and two cases and convicted all but two.¹⁵

While some justices and other critics argued that non-Mormons received unfair treatment at the hands of Mormon judges and juries, several studies dealing with probate courts in Utah disagree with these charges. When the records of the court are reviewed, non-Mormons and dissenting Mormons are seen to have been treated fairly in the courts. These records reveal that the percentage of non-Mormons suing Mormons is significantly greater than the percentage of the non-Mormon population (73 percent of the plaintiffs were not LDS church members), suggesting that non-Mormons generally expected a fair hearing of their grievances. In criminal cases, in fact, non-Mormons were freed more frequently than Mormons. Jurors apparently were more lenient toward non-Mormons than were judges, acquitting criminal charges for a significantly greater proportion of non-Mormons than Mormons.¹⁶

These studies reveal the county probate court system was effective in performing its duties at little cost to the commonwealth, something the district courts either could not or did not accomplish. What apparently had begun as a means to meet the needs and exigencies of Utah Territory effectively became a heated political struggle over control of the citizens in Utah—a battle radical Republicans in Washington, D.C., did not plan to lose.

After the Union victory over the South, federal authority again began to assert itself more actively in Utah. Opening old wounds, the military established Fort Rawlins on 30 July 1870 approximately 2.5 miles from the city of Provo, on the north bank of the Timpanogos (Provo) River.¹⁷ Soldiers from Camp Douglas in Salt Lake County arrived in Utah County with the intent of establishing a permanent military reservation near Provo. Soon frustrated by a seeming lack of support and definition of mission, along with the reality that soldiers could not expect social activity in Provo, army personnel became agitated. Numerous courts-martial for disorderly conduct, drunkenness,

and desertion plagued the camp. One incident was more provocative than any other. Several soldiers rioted in Provo on the night of 22 September 1870, harassing local inhabitants and vandalizing property. By the spring of 1871 morale at the camp was at an all-time low. On 10 May the camp commander received notification that the camp was to be closed and, by 10 June, the last soldier left Utah County.

As the military in Utah struggled to understand its exact mission, the federal government demonstrated its will in the courts. Crusading federal judge James B. McKean, appointed in 1870, attacked the probate courts and succeeded in convening grand juries to investigate persons suspected of plural marriage and obtaining hundreds of indictments and convictions for adultery and bigamy. Some of these cases on appeal eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which, in one decision (Englebrecht) said that the federal courts could prosecute the cases but had to empanel the juries in a lawful way, thus overturning some earlier verdicts.

In 1874 Congress took the hint and also its first real step toward eliminating the local citizens' authority in the judicial process, passing the Poland Bill. This act of Congress ended the controversy over the criminal jurisdiction of the probate courts—returning the probate courts to their original status—that of being administrators of wills and estates. For the people of Utah County, this legislation meant they were now under the direct influence of federally appointed officers, ending a twenty-two-year struggle to establish home rule through legislative action.

The period was one of uneasiness, frustration, and intrigue. For most citizens of the county, the Mormon church's practice of plural marriage not only was protected under the "freedom of religion" clause of the U.S. Constitution but also was viewed as a direct commandment from God. Church leaders were apparently convinced their position on plural marriage was legally sound and could be vindicated in an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Eventually a test case, *Reynolds v. The United States* reached the high court in 1879. The court's decision ruled on the validity of the Morrill Act of 1862, basically indicating that the plural marriage was not protected under the freedom of religion clause of the U.S. Constitution. The initial reaction of most county residents to the

court's decision was disbelief and shock.¹⁸ This reaction eventually gave way to defiance. As the legal wheels set in motion in Washington slowly began to turn, residents' lives were greatly disturbed. The stage was now set for a decade of incredible conflict for the people of the county and throughout the territory—a period known by them as the “Federal Raid.”

One story that is illustrative of federal actions taken during the period involved a group of men who waited patiently in the chilly air of a January morning in 1886. They had traveled from Salt Lake City in utmost secrecy to the small community of American Fork in northern Utah County, arriving before dawn. The group met a local resident, James Doyle, who not only acted as a guide but also planned to help identify the persons they were seeking. Some five or six men armed with weapons, U.S. federal marshal badges, and documents signed by a federal officer in Salt Lake City prepared to wake the occupants of a home on that cold Monday morning.

Everyone was in place just before 7:00 A.M. Within minutes, a few of the men rushed into the home, startling the occupants from their sleep, declaring their purpose, and arresting the father and husband of the household—Bishop William Michael Bromley.¹⁹ A forty-seven-year-old immigrant born near Worcester, England, Bromley had come to Utah in 1852. At sixteen years of age, he walked to Springville from Salt Lake City to begin a new life in Utah County. Since that time, he had held various jobs and served his church and community in the town south of Provo. Bromley returned to England in 1871 as a Mormon missionary. Three years later he returned to Utah County, and in 1883 he was called to serve as the bishop in American Fork. He became the leader of the community by assignment and was serving in that position when the federal officers entered his two-story home just before dawn on Monday morning, 11 January 1886.

As the federal marshals entered the house, Bromley's young daughter escaped into the frigid morning air without being noticed by the officers and ran down the street to William Grant's home seeking help. Grant noted in his journal that she “opened the front door and told us the Bishop was arrested.”²⁰ As they spoke, five or six deputy marshals were already surrounding Grant's home. “We were

all alarmed by a raid in our house,” Grant recalled. Two deputies were stationed at each door when two others “burst open the door and rushed up stairs,” Grant wrote. When the men entered the bedroom, James Doyle identified Grant, who was promptly arrested. Two of his wives, two daughters, and two neighbors were also subpoenaed as witnesses against Grant.

Word of the arrests of Bromley and Grant spread quickly, as did the story of one who escaped. Warren B. Smith, another American Fork resident, eluded the marshals in his night clothes. (Eventually arrested, he was imprisoned in October 1890.) The prisoners were taken to the railroad depot in town to be transported to Salt Lake City. When they arrived, “hundreds were out to see us and wish us well and express friendship for us,” Grant cheerfully reported. Following his release to await trial, Grant pessimistically noted in his journal, “I do not expect to be let free, but look to go to prison for Christ’s sake.”²¹ Following his conviction, the county newspaper reported:

Many of the good people of American Fork assembled at the residence of Brother Wm. Grant on Friday evening last to show their love and respect for Bishop W. Bromley and Elder Wm. Grant who are shortly, it is expected, to be incarcerated in the Utah “bastille” for conscience sake. At 7 P.M. the company, numbering about 250, sat down to tables laden with and groaning beneath the [bounties] of the good things of life. . . . The party was a complete success.²²

Sentenced to four months in the Utah Penitentiary on 13 April, Grant was taken to the penitentiary in Sugarhouse, a short distance south-east of Salt Lake City.

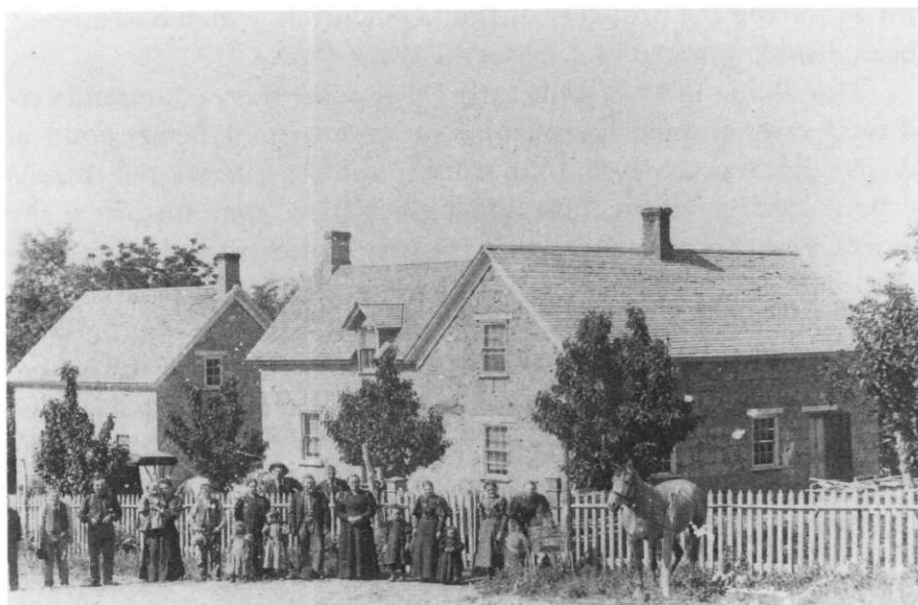
During the next four years, many other men and women from Utah County were incarcerated or went “on the underground,” as the attempt to evade capture was called, to avoid arrest.²³ Though polygamy had been outlawed by federal legislation in 1862, large-scale enforcement did not begin until after the passing of the Edmunds Act of 1882. Senator George Franklin Edmunds of Vermont took the initiative in attempting to reconstruct the Utah Territory through aggressive legislative action. Edmunds had come to the U.S. Senate in 1865 as a radical Republican. Having failed sub-

stantially in his efforts to reconstruct the South, he turned his attention toward Utah. The Edmunds Act he authored made polygamy a crime punishable by fine or imprisonment and disqualified citizens who believed in or practiced polygamy from holding public office, participating in jury duty, and voting. The law declared all registration and election offices of every description in the territory to be vacant and that such duties held by former officials were to be assumed by the Utah Commission—a five-member group appointed by the president of the United States. This law also made children of polygamous marriages born after 1883 illegitimate.

Utah County residents watched with concern the events in neighboring counties as leading Utah citizens, church leaders, family members, and friends were arrested and incarcerated. Even within the county, a few arrests took place. Thomas Hawkins was arrested on 2 May 1882 in Lehi and taken to prison. One county resident, Charles Monk, wrote to his son in August 1885, “The way the crusade is working things were a threatening aspect. I do not know what I may do or where I may go to this fall.”²⁴ Monk found himself in the territorial prison receiving free room and board in April 1888, convicted of unlawful cohabitation. Not all county residents were arrested at their homes; Solomon Edwards of American Fork was arrested at Eagle Rock, Idaho, in February 1886.²⁵

During this period of conflict, county residents (Mormons and non-Mormons alike) joined the nation to mourn the death of former U.S. president Ulysses S. Grant in 1885. Some 2,000 people assembled in the nearly completed Utah Stake Tabernacle in Provo in August. The *Territorial Enquirer* reported the program, which consisted of talks by Reverend T.W. Lincoln, Judge W.N. Dusenberry, H.H. Cluff, and A.G. Sutherland. The Provo Choir and Payson Brass Band furnished the musical selections during the memorial services. A large, framed portrait of Grant and his words “Let Us Have Peace,” inscribed upon a floral background, were displayed.²⁶

Moments of community peace and national reconciliation were few, however. Between 1882 and 1885 the progress of arresting and convicting polygamists did not satisfy members of the federal government, so Congress began to debate a stronger bill, the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which eventually became law in 1887. This legislation



The William Wadley family poses in front of their homes in Manila about 1897. A polygamist, Wadley, like other county residents, lived to see the resolution of conflict with the Federal Government when Utah became a state. (Beth R. Olsen)

attempted to plug loopholes of the earlier 1882 Edmunds Act. Once passed, this law sent many men and women to prison in Utah, Idaho, Arizona, and Michigan. It also sent many more people “on the underground.” Additionally, the Edmunds-Tucker Act made the office of county probate judge an appointive position, filled by the president of the United States, and vested in the district courts exclusive jurisdiction in the granting of divorces, thus displacing the probate courts even more.

Additionally, women of the territory, granted the right to vote by the territorial legislature in 1870, were disenfranchised. Plural wives were required to testify in court against their husbands. The Mormon church’s successful Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company was dissolved, reducing immigration of new church converts to the county and territory. The Nauvoo Legion militia was abolished throughout the territory. The Edmunds-Tucker Act also provided a mechanism

for acquiring the property of the LDS church, which had already been disincorporated by the Morrill Act of 1862.

During the 1880s and the early 1890s, more than a thousand verdicts in cases of unlawful cohabitation were secured. Before political deliverance was achieved, Utah County and other territorial citizens experienced one of the most difficult periods in their history, as the federal government reached into the very homes of communities in the 1880s.

To help with the expenses of prosecution, Congress appropriated money, which became known as the "spotters' fund." Informers reportedly were paid an average of twenty dollars for each polygamist whose arrest they brought about. "Hunting cohabs," or cohabitationists, as polygamists were often called, became a favorite pastime and a source of income for some county residents. As noted, American Fork resident James Doyle helped federal officers capture Bromley and Grant in January 1886. Federal marshals actually arrested county residents to testify as witnesses in polygamy cases. A local newspaper reported one such arrest:

Pleasant Grove. Amused. The appearance of Deputies Vandercook and Frank in Pleasant Grove on Tuesday created no small amount of excitement among the quiet citizens of that place. When the Deps visited the home of Winters' family it was soon understood by the citizens "What was up." Miss Huldah [Winters] was *arrested as a witness*. This statement may appear singular to people outside of Utah; but the statement is nevertheless true that in Utah Mormons (not Gentiles be it however noted) are *arrested as witnesses*.²⁷

Because women were being "arrested" as witnesses, men, women, and children in the county were on the move. Emma Westerman Ashworth, for example, remembered, "Not long after we were married the officers [federal deputy marshals] got after me and I never was able to stay anywhere more than a few weeks at a time."²⁸ Supporting herself, Ashworth moved to Provo to run a boarding house. She recalled, "I never had a place to lay my head that I could call my own. I had two babies [Harold and Beatrice]." Beatrice was, in fact, born while Emma was on the underground. Eventually, fed-

eral officers arrested her husband in Provo at the home of his first wife. Emma Ashworth was subpoenaed as a witness but, because her husband pleaded guilty, was never called upon to testify in court.

For many women, the new lifestyle engendered by the underground gave them the opportunity to create a new, or at least a secret, identity. Fanny Coombs Harper of Payson left her home in the fall of 1886 to take a position as a telegraph operator at Beaver City. She passed in that community as Mrs. Clayburn, and only the local stake president, John W. Murdock, knew her real identity.²⁹ The underground experience forced many county residents to deal with anxiety, loneliness, secrecy, and uncertainty. However, for many of the women of the county, the underground experience provided an opportunity for first wives to demonstrate Christian attributes and forge strong loyalties with their “sister-wives.”

Melissa Riggs Stewart brought her husband’s second wife, Eliza Stewart, back to her home in Provo after the second marriage in September 1885, and Eliza Stewart “for some time lived in great secrecy with her because of the raids,” her daughter recalled.³⁰ At times, their husband, Andrew Stewart, lived in the upper part of Melissa Stewart’s home when Eliza Stewart was hidden there. One evening, Melissa Stewart reportedly drove all night with a buggy and horses to where Andrew and Eliza Stewart were staying to warn them the marshals were on their trail.

During the period, family life often was so disrupted that wives or children could never know for sure when their husbands or fathers would be home again. Lives were inextricably altered as a result of the federal campaign in Utah County. David John, a prominent leader in the county, noted: “Prest. A.O. Smoot [LDS stake president and former mayor of Provo], H.H. Cluff, and myself thought it unsafe to sleep in our houses this night (the Deputy Marshals being in our City) we removed our quarters [secret hiding place].”³¹

Nearly a month later, David John recorded, “I awake at 3 A.M. in a terrible state of excitement. I dreamed that the Deputy Marshals were after me, at last they caught me and I wakened.” David John’s nightmare finally came true in June when he awoke at 3:00 A.M. and went outside to irrigate his garden. Later in the morning, a man approached him and asked for “Mr. John.” When David John replied

that he was Mr. John, the man continued, "I have a very unpleasant duty this morning to perform. I am a Deputy Marshall of the United States, and I have a warrant to arrest you." The arrest experience depended upon the personality of both the arresting officer and the person he was seeking. David John invited the federal officer in and read the warrant. He later noted, "The Marshal's name who arrested me was a Mr. Smith, he treated me very kindly and he dined with me, also my son-in-law, Benjamin Cluff, Jr."³²

Family members, especially young children, were warned against giving out information, especially to strangers. Young Ed Rollin of Lehi had been prepared by his family to avoid giving any family information. When federal marshals arrived in town and asked about his grandfather, William Clark, Rollin reportedly replied, "He has gone as far as you can run north, and as far as you can run west with your mouth full of chicken manure."³³ Another young county resident was grilled by federal officers, and, according to a later account, he eventually volunteered to take an officer to the hiding place of a polygamist. Expecting to make an arrest, the official dismounted his horse and eagerly followed the ten-year-old boy around the home to a barn. The gate was opened cautiously to find the "object of their search; and there with head erect and in the midst of his cowering wives, stood the polygamist—a rooster."³⁴

The anxiety of children whose parents were practicing plural marriage cannot be underestimated. Sarah Russell Freebairn reported that she awoke one night "to see a big tall man standing by the table. He had a revolver in his pocket. The next morning they said the deputies had been there."³⁵ One father, John Brown, who had a wife living in Pleasant Grove and another in Lehi, told a worried child that no one could capture him. While hiding near Hanging Rock in American Fork Canyon in June 1886 he told his daughter, "Although I occupy a position on this rock conspicuously hanging over the road, no one can see me except those who strictly keep the Word of Wisdom, say their prayers, and go to meeting."³⁶

Most Mormon residents of the county were deeply embittered at the discrimination and discrepancies in the sentencing shown by federal judges. Men arrested for rape, murder, and other major crimes were sometimes given light sentences and, in some cases, reportedly

only simple reprimands, while those sentenced for unlawful cohabitation were often given the maximum punishment allowable. Less than 3 percent of those sentenced for crimes against persons or property were given maximum sentences, compared to the 67 percent of the prisoners for plural marriage. Furthermore, in no case of crime against person or property did a judge violate the limitations of sentences prescribed by law, although sentences of nearly 3 percent of the polygamists exceeded the legal limit.³⁷ By 1887 the civil cases needing to be heard in Utah County were almost hopelessly backed up. The *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* reported that because of 165 criminal cases not a single civil suit was tried during the fall term of the First District Court at Provo.³⁸

As the territorial prison population gradually became predominantly Mormon, polygamy sentences became a mark of status and honor for most Mormons arrested and convicted. Church leaders called some polygamists on missions to avoid arrest, and others were called to settle in Mexico and Canada. Spring Lake resident Benjamin Franklin Johnson sold his farm and moved to a new refuge in Mexico in 1882. As Johnson left some of his family in Utah County, he said that “the clinging embrace and tearful kiss of those I so much loved, inspired courage and renewed within me the hope of happier days in another land.”³⁹

Federal officers mostly focused on a single community in the county on each raid to find polygamists. Although many citizens of the county were warned in advance, the U.S. marshal’s office achieved some spectacular successes. For example, three men were arrested in Pleasant Grove on 14 June 1886; on 7 December of the same year, eight men were arrested in Lehi; and on 19 October 1887, seven men were arrested in Payson.

In 1888, federal officers changed their tactics and planned a series of raids covering several days in the month of May. On 11 May they arrested William Kelsey and Lorin Harmer in Springville; on the fifteenth they found William Kelly in American Fork; and, on the following day, Albert Haws of Provo and John Walton of Alpine were captured. By the end of the year, federal marshals had swooped down on nearly every Utah County community in their efforts to arrest polygamists.

County residents remained defiant and demonstrated their contempt for the laws banning polygamy by staging “welcome home” parties. Santaquin resident George Halliday upon his release noted:

I left the pen on the 9th of Jan. 1889 and my family and friends was indeed pleased to see me home again. The Saints of Santaquin Ward made two feasts to welcome me home, and the Sunday School children and teachers came to the Depot with songs to meet me, and even strangers on the train wept, as they felt the spirit of welcome given me by the children, more love and respect could not be shown to me than was manifested by all the people of the town.⁴⁰

The polygamy raids of the 1880s were more than an effort by the federal government to eradicate plural marriage. It became clear that Mormon people could not remain in the county or the territory and live their religion as they wanted without increased and hostile intervention by the national government in their family and community life and in their political and economic activities. When a new and even stricter bill known as the Cullom-Struble Act was discussed in Washington in 1889, LDS church president Wilford Woodruff placed into motion events he hoped would ensure the continued operation of the Mormon temples in Utah, missionary work throughout the world, and the possibility of home rule—statehood. He accomplished these objectives by effectively ending most plural marriages in Utah Territory through the issuance of the Manifesto in 1890 officially counseling Mormons to refrain from contracting new plural marriages. It signaled the beginning of the accommodation of the LDS people in Utah to the national will, paving the way for self-rule for county and territorial residents.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER 6

STATEHOOD AND NATIONALIZATION, 1890–1901

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869 at Promontory Summit and the discovery of minerals both in the territory and in Utah County brought new immigrants to the area. By 1890 Utah had one of the smallest percentages of Mormons in its history. The county mirrored this development, with a growing cosmopolitan population as a result of mining, railroads, and industrialization. Increasing numbers of non-Mormons changed the complexion of local government. Two political parties—the People's party, composed primarily of Mormons, and the Liberal party, composed chiefly of non-Mormons and dissenters from the LDS church—were organized in the early 1870s. From 1870 until the early 1890s the Liberal party played an increasingly significant role in Utah County's political environment, seeking a diminished role for the LDS church in political and economic arenas. Although they were a distinct numerical minority in the county, party members believed the pervasive influence of the church stifled integration with the national political-economic system.

Economic and social developments in the late 1880s and early

1890s influenced territorial political developments and the change from the religious-oriented parties to national parties. For example, the county was urbanizing with the growth of the Provo Woolen Mill, the Lehi Sugar Factory, and the presence of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad. Mining flourished in the mountains in the southwestern corner of the county as well as in American Fork Canyon. A chamber of commerce was established in Provo to foster economic development in the community. Individuals like Jessie Knight and George Sutherland wanted economic and social progress in the county; however, the city of Provo also was facing urban problems of sewage disposal, bad drinking water, unpaved streets, and health problems. .

An added feature of county politics was the creation of the Loyal League of Utah, a faction of the Liberal party composed mostly of non-Mormon businessmen. "The objects of the Utah Loyal League," according to its constitution, "are to combine the loyal people of Utah, male and female, irrespective of politics, in opposition to the political rule and law-defying practices of the so-called Mormon Church, to oppose the admission of Utah into the Union until she has the substance as well as the form of republican government, and to raise money to retain agents in Washington or elsewhere for these ends."¹

Many of the non-Mormons and dissidents joining the ranks of the Liberal party and the Utah Loyal League were unwilling to give up the power and influence they had enjoyed through federally appointed officers. Statehood would certainly mean that Latter-day Saints would wield more influence in political affairs in the region than they had during the past several decades, including the power to elect state officers from the governor on down.

Not until after the 1890 Woodruff Manifesto was issued, however, was there a serious attempt made to organize and establish the two major national parties in Utah. It began when a group of non-Mormons formed a faction of the Liberal party in Ogden, calling themselves the Anti-Ring Liberals. They appointed a committee to approach the People's party (comprised mostly of Mormons) in Ogden to see if they could unite on an acceptable list of candidates for the upcoming city elections. The People's party then approached

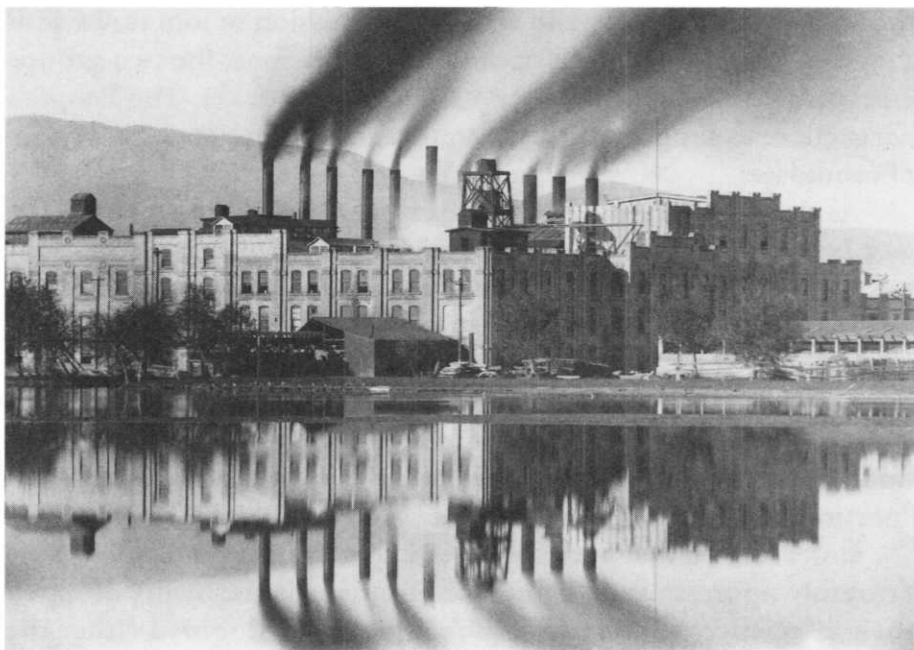
the LDS First Presidency and received permission to join ranks with the Anti-Ring Liberals. After careful negotiations, the two groups emerged with a coalition slate—the Citizen's ticket. The People's party chose to support this ticket rather than nominate its own slate of candidates.

As the divisive movement spread throughout the territory, the *Salt Lake Tribune* (the voice of the Liberal party in Utah) attempted to stem the tide of erosion of the Liberal ranks. As the spring of 1891 arrived, the paper devoted space to answering letters from Liberals throughout the territory who ventured to express a degree of trust in the Latter-day Saints. For example, one non-Mormon resident of Payson, Calvin Reasoner, even accused some fellow Liberals of being unable to think independently from the *Tribune*, saying there was a "portion of the reformation that needs to be reformed."²

It was known that national government leaders would look more favorably upon statehood for Utah if territorial residents dropped their allegiances to the two regional parties and joined either the national Democratic party or Republican party. As interest in national parties increased and as both the Democrats and Republicans within the territory became increasingly disposed to dissolve their union with the Liberal party, the Mormon church decided in 1891 that the People's party should be disbanded. The final dissolution of the Liberal party in Utah County was largely caused by George Sutherland, who had been an active member.

Sutherland, an immigrant from England, grew up in Utah County, where he attended Brigham Young Academy from 1879 to 1881.³ School president Karl Maeser had a powerful influence on the young man, even though Sutherland's family had disaffiliated itself from the Mormon church. After attending law school in Michigan, Sutherland returned to practice law in Utah. He became politically active in Utah County, running for mayor of Provo in 1890 against People's party candidate John E. Booth. Sutherland was defeated but became a prominent political figure and facilitator during this period of transition from territory to state.⁴

The beginning of political reconciliation in the county is seen in LDS apostle John Henry Evans's diary entry in 1892: "I went down to Provo and attended the Republican Rally. George Sutherland, Reed



The Lehi Sugar Factory on 15 December 1905. (Utah State Historical Society)

Smoot, John E. Booth, J.N. Whitecotton and I spoke.”⁵ Sutherland’s willingness to view Utah County’s long-term interests expedited the union of Mormons and non-Mormons during the period when the two national parties began to emerge as major factors in local politics.

By preference, most Latter-day Saints in Utah County chose to associate with the Democratic party, as did most Mormons throughout the territory. This choice was only to be expected, because the Republican party sponsored the legal prosecution against the Mormons during the “Federal Raid” period of the 1880s. The Mormon church’s First Presidency was somewhat concerned, however, about a “general rush into the Democratic ranks.” Since the Republican party was in control of the national government, territorial and county residents could not expect much Republican assistance in their effort to obtain statehood if Utah became a “Democrat”

state. Church leadership wanted a balanced division between both parties.⁶

John Henry Smith, along with two young charter members of the Republican Club in Utah County, John Zane and George M. Cannon, were assigned by Republican party leaders to “proselytize” for additional members throughout the territory. At the first stop on this political mission, Smith noted: “John M. Zane, George M. Cannon and myself went to Provo, and in the evening did organize a Republican club of 15 members.”⁷ During the meeting in the courthouse, Smith urged those attending to make the county Republican. Smith made other trips to Utah County in an effort to organize similar clubs; for example, on 22 June 1891, he noted: “In company with John M. Zane and James Sharp, I went to Payson and held a political meeting.”⁸

When the Republican Club in Provo held its second meeting on 4 June 1891, the long-time editor of the *Provo Enquirer*, John C. Graham, was in attendance. The paper reported an orderly, dignified, and instructive meeting, and Graham congratulated the participants for their desire to stimulate political activity in the county.⁹ When the editor, a self-confessed opponent of division in Provo, announced that the time had come for the county to fall in with the national-party movement in the territory, the occasion marked the conversion of a formerly vocal opponent of the Republican party.

While ideology played a role in the development of the Republican party in the county, the real impetus for the growth of Mormon membership in Republican ranks was almost entirely pragmatic. Many Mormon religious and civic leaders believed that the Republican party could deliver substantial aid in the struggle for home rule. Ironically, in light of the local strength of the Republican party at the present time, without Mormon church interference, nothing approaching an equitable division of the Utah electorate would have been likely during this period of history.

Political activity during this period should also be understood in the context of the economy of the region. For example, Lehi sugar workers struggled to establish a viable factory to produce sugar from locally grown sugar beets. LDS church leaders’ efforts to increase the value of local agricultural production and to provide employment for

local residents resulted in the 1891 establishment of the factory through the church-promoted Utah Sugar Company.¹⁰ The largest beet factory in America at the time, it employed more than 100 people and had a capacity of 350 tons of sugar beets per day. However, the Panic of 1893, during President Grover Cleveland's Democratic administration, caused much economic distress in the country in general and in the West in particular.

Politicians in the territory referred to the struggling Lehi sugar works, observing that no such enterprise could hope to flourish without some initial protection, aid, and support from the government. Local residents received substantial benefit from the enterprise. Lehi, for example, increased in size by more than 400 people in 1891. The *Lehi Banner* noted, "All this has caused a boom here such as Lehi has never known before." The paper continued, "Every man has plenty of work to do, and you see no loafers on the streets. . . . Real estate is rising rapidly, new buildings are being erected in all parts of town . . . [and] carpenters are kept busy from day light till [dark]."¹¹

Farmers also saw great economic potential in the new industry. At the time, county farmers were earning about twenty dollars per acre growing wheat, thirteen dollars an acre for hay, and thirty-six dollars for an acre of potatoes. Growing sugar beets increased the per-acre profit significantly. More than 500 farmers, mostly in Utah County, contracted to grow a total of 1,500 acres of sugar beets for the Utah Sugar Company. As part of the successful harvest and conversion of sugar beets to granulated sugar, Broadbent & Son sold the first sack of locally produced sugar in its mercantile store in Lehi. Most people in the county were committed to the success of the sugar beet industry and therefore were pleased with the efforts to protect it. During the economic difficulties of the 1890s, the factory survived only because the LDS church asked its members to buy the factory's sugar, loaned the company money, endorsed its notes, secured favorable contracts with growers, and guaranteed its bond issues.

While Republican strength grew, Utah County Democrats were able to maintain power and influence through several prominent individuals. William Henry King, born in Fillmore, Utah, attended Brigham Young Academy before serving an LDS mission to Great Britain from 1880 to 1882. Upon his return, King graduated from law

school in Michigan in 1887 and married in 1889. As he began his career, King served three terms in the territorial legislature and as Utah County attorney and Provo City attorney.¹²

In November 1892, in the first secret-ballot, two-party election in which both national parties vied for voter allegiance in Utah County, Democrats made a strong showing. In September 1893 a newly elected Democratic delegate from Utah, Joseph L. Rawlins, introduced a bill in Congress for Utah's admission to the Union. The Rawlins bill passed on 13 December 1893 with only five opposing votes. The new Democratic president, Grover Cleveland, began the practice of appointing only Utahns, including Utah County resident William H. King, to public offices. President Cleveland also restored all civil rights to Latter-day Saints, except women, including voting and the holding of office.

The U.S. Senate passed the Enabling Act for Utah statehood, and the president signed it on 16 June 1894. This act provided for a constitutional convention to be held in 1895 to draft a state constitution. One hundred and seven delegates were elected to the 1895 Utah Constitutional Convention, including twelve from Utah County: J. S. Boyer (Springville), E.E. Corfman (Provo), William Creer (Spanish Fork), George Cunningham (American Fork), Anders Engberg (Salem), A.J. Evans (Lehi), J.D. Halliday (Santaquin), Hyrum Lemmon (Payson), Karl G. Maeser (Provo), Edward Partridge (Provo), Joseph E. Thorne (Pleasant Grove), and Samuel R. Thurman (Provo). These citizens spent two months attending to their duties at the convention and representing the people of their respective communities, county, and state.

The assignment to serve in this pivotal assignment was far more than an honor—it was a duty; and the work, debates, and speeches by Utah County representatives played a large role in formulating the state constitution. Many of Utah County's delegates presented petitions from their respective communities in efforts to sway the vote on several issues being discussed at the convention in Salt Lake City. The convention began on Wednesday, 6 March 1895. Although the day was a momentous one for Utah citizens, the residents of Utah County had reason to mourn. Delegate Partridge noted in his diary

on this occasion: "President A.O. Smoot of the Utah Stake of Zion died at 4:10 P.M."¹³

The sacrifice of attending and participating was large for these active men, who left family, business interests, and civic and religious responsibilities behind in Utah County to take part in the once-in-a-lifetime event. Evans, for example, arrived in Salt Lake City, yet on 2 April asked to be "excused on account of news that I have just received on my mother not being expected to live."¹⁴ His request was granted by his fellow delegates, but he returned by 8 April to continue his service. Edward Partridge traveled to Salt Lake City by train from his home. His journal, along with the official minutes of the constitutional convention, paints a picture of his busy schedule as he attempted to fulfill both his duties in Salt Lake City and his responsibilities in Utah County.¹⁵

During the convention, many people in the county let the delegates know of their concerns by presenting petitions which they hoped would influence the delegates to place in the new state constitution items they felt were important. On 25 March, for example, J.S. Boyer presented a petition signed by twenty-one members of the Christian Endeavor Society of Springville in support of an article for prohibition. On the following day, delegates Maeser and Partridge both submitted a petition signed by Provo citizens in favor of a prohibition article in the constitution. On 28 March a petition by fifty-one citizens of Spanish Fork in support of the same issue was submitted by delegate Creer.¹⁶

Women in Utah County also sought to regain the right to vote that was lost in 1887 with the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act. The effort to reclaim the franchise intensified as the likelihood of statehood grew. Bipartisan support, cooperation between Mormon and non-Mormon women, and effective local organizations did not, however, bring about a speedy conclusion to the issue. Women's suffrage was one of the most bitterly contested aspects of the convention. Some members of the convention believed that women's suffrage might block Utah's attempt to achieve statehood, and others felt that giving women the right to vote would give LDS church leaders political and economic power in the new state through their sup-



A typical sugar beet harvest scene in Utah County was captured by Springville photographer, George Edward Anderson, around the turn-of-the-century. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

posed control of the women's vote, since the majority of women in Utah Territory were Mormon.

On 28 March the majority report of the committee, calling for equal political rights for women, was placed before the convention for debate. Utah County Democrat Samuel R. Thurman asserted vigorously: "I have this confidence in the Mormon Church, that if political parties will let them alone, they will let political parties alone."¹⁷ As the debate continued, Utah County Democrat Edward Partridge expressed his concern about the cost of the convention and the purpose of the oratory being offered in the debate: "The whole day was taken up in discussion of the suffrage question. . . . Thus the time is used to no purpose and some \$600 a day of the public money used up to no purpose only to gratify the vanity of man."¹⁸

Despite a heated debate, women's suffrage passed by a large majority (seventy-five for, sixteen against, and thirteen absent). Nevertheless, petitions continued to arrive at the convention in favor of making suffrage a separate issue, including one signed by 161 citizens of American Fork on 9 April.¹⁹ On 12 April several other petitions were sent to support making suffrage a separate issue, one

signed by 144 people from Spanish Fork and one signed by fifty-four residents of Provo. The convention also received petitions in favor of the passed article. For example, on 15 April, a petition signed by sixty-two citizens from Salem was submitted in support of the women's suffrage article.²⁰ The issue was finally resolved on 18 April when a motion to reconsider the suffrage and election article was defeated (thirty-two for, sixty-nine against, and three absent).

In the heat of debate, time was found for laughter—even though the laughter was at Provo's expense on at least one occasion. On 15 April delegates had been anxious to go home for a well-deserved weekend break, but one member of the convention continued his speech. The delegate began to tell a long story, when he was interrupted by another delegate: "If Mr. Goodwin will allow me to make a suggestion, it is this. If the gentlemen here expect to go to Logan this afternoon, it is time they were making a move, and I submit, Mr. Goodwin have the first chance Monday morning to finish his speech." Delegate Goodwin responded: "I have got through nearly all I wanted to say, and I suggest that while I believe several of these gentlemen ought to go to Provo [the site of the territorial mental asylum] instead of Logan (laughter), that this be continued and that it be made a special order for Monday morning." Delegate William Creer of Spanish Fork seized the moment and immediately moved "that we now adjourn until Monday morning at 10 o'clock."²¹

The delegates met for the last time on 8 May. All of Utah County's twelve delegates were present, voted in favor of the new constitution, and signed their names to the document on this important day. As the general election approached to ratify the proposed constitution and elect state officers, local Utah County residents were busy attempting to promote their new parties' goals. William Grant of American Fork noted in his diary, "Our great election for Statehood comes off on the 9th, and I am brought into the meeting to sing with Democratic Glee Club at several meetings. I composed a song of 5 verses." On 5 November 1895, in the general election, Utah's male voters ratified the new constitution and elected a majority of Republicans to govern the new state. Democrat Grant then noted, "A great effort was made by our party and after all we met with defeat and Utah was set back from Democracy."²²

To many other county residents, however, the election was successful, especially for James Chipman, who was elected as the first state treasurer. Chipman had been born in Missouri when the Mormons were making their way to a new home in Illinois. His family came to Utah in 1847 and eventually settled in American Fork. Chipman opened a store in 1872, later known as the Chipman Mercantile Company. He was president of banks in American Fork, Pleasant Grove, and Lehi. Later, he was a director of Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, Utah National Bank, and Beneficial Life Insurance Company. He served as a school board member, city councilman (three terms), mayor of American Fork, and was one of the founders of the Republican party in American Fork.²³

In addition to electing the first state governor, secretary of state, attorney general, state treasurer, and state auditor, the voters also elected members of the first Utah State Legislature. While Republicans carried the day in state offices, citizens in the county elected a Democrat to the state senate and three (of the four) local Democrats to the Utah House of Representatives.

About 9:30 A.M. on 4 January 1896, county residents received word from Washington, D.C., that the president of the United States, Grover Cleveland, had signed the proclamation declaring Utah the forty-fifth state. Edward Partridge noted, "As I rode into Provo . . . the factory whistle commenced to belch forth with all its power." This set off a clamor of shouts, fireworks, bells, and gun salutes. Partridge continued, "Very soon other whistles started up, the bells were ringing and guns were fired all together creating the greatest noise that ever was heard in Provo."²⁴ The streets were thronged with people heartily congratulating each other on finally becoming full-fledged American citizens. Celebrations throughout the county were held. In Springville, locals gathered at the meetinghouse. Special honor was given to John S. Boyer, a pioneer of the city and the elected delegate from Springville to the constitutional convention. Celebrations in the larger communities, in small villages, and in individual homes of Utah County residents represented the celebration of the people in achieving a long-sought goal.

On Monday, 6 January 1896, Utah County residents rejoiced at the inauguration of the first state officers elected by the people. A

large crowd of religious, civic, and federal governmental leaders filed into the LDS Tabernacle in Salt Lake City to witness the ceremonies. Edward Partridge noted in his journal: "Many people [from Provo] went to Salt Lake City to witness the proceedings."²⁵

As citizens of a new state, the people of Utah had power to form the government they chose, as long as it was representative in form. The state legislature (made up of two houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives) was the lawmaking body in state government. The new constitution gave Utah County four representatives in the house and two state senators.²⁶ The new state also had the power to form counties, cities, and towns and establish governments.²⁷ Of interest, the only county office specifically provided for under the new state constitution was county attorney (known as prosecuting attorney under the territorial government).²⁸

With the inception of state government, the county court was succeeded by a board of county commissioners, consisting of three members who were elected every two years (the probate court was abolished).²⁹ The board of county commissioners was to elect one of its members as chairman. (The structure of the county commission was altered slightly in 1901, when the term of office of the commissioners was changed to two four-year terms and one two-year term, alternating so as to keep an experienced commissioner in office at all times.) This body made up the legislative and the executive branches of county government and was charged with the direction of all county business and county officers and departments. H.T. Reynolds, J.O. Bullock, and J.S. Peery served as members of the first board of county commissioners following statehood.³⁰ Many of the earlier county offices continued to function much the same as they had before (judges of election, justice of the peace, sheriff, county clerk, recorder, assessor, treasurer, physician, surveyor, road commissioner, and bee inspector, for example). The office of clerk of the probate court's title was changed to county clerk.

Other offices were greatly modified, eliminated, or created by the new state legislature. The office of coroner was abolished and all powers and duties previously vested with the coroner were conferred upon the local justices of the peace (as had been the case prior to 1868). The office of county collector was abolished and all powers

and duties were given to the county treasurer. The county board of health was also abolished, giving the county commissioners the power to create sanitary districts and to appoint a board of health for each district; these district boards of health were replaced in 1898 by a county board of health, which was composed of the board of county commissioners and a health officer from each sanitary district. The office of fence viewer, created in 1851, was discontinued.

The office of constable changed slightly under the new state government. In 1890 the offices of precinct constable and precinct poundkeeper were joined; however, the state legislature designated the constable *ex officio* precinct poundkeeper. The office of registration agent was separated from the office of county assessor in 1896, at which time the legislature provided for the appointment by the board of county commissioners of a registration agent (to be a member of the political party that received the highest number of votes in the precinct for governor in the preceding election) in each precinct. Forty-three registration agents were appointed on 17 July 1896. In 1897 the legislature stipulated that the registration agent was to serve a two-year term of office and was to be a member of the political party that received the highest number of votes in the precinct at the first preceding election for the representative to Congress.

The legislature of the new state created the office of county auditor in 1896, taking the responsibility from the county court. Additionally, the county auditor assumed the responsibilities of the clerk of the county court as the clerk of the county board of equalization.

At statehood, the district courts created by the Organic Act of 1850 continued to exist. Utah County remained in the Fourth Judicial District, with the county clerk acting as the *ex officio* clerk of the district court. A.C. Hatch served as the local district court judge in 1896. In 1899 the office of district attorney was created by the legislature. The first district attorney for the Fourth District Court, Samuel King, was appointed by the governor for a term until 1901, at which time the position was to be filled by the vote of the electorate in the district.

Ten months following statehood, in November 1896, county residents, along with the other citizens of Utah, voted in their first



This 1900 photograph by George Edward Anderson of the Springville Sugar Beet Factory and Silage Pit show county farmers taking advantage of the increased sugar beet production by loading pulp or silage, a by-product of the sugar refining process, for livestock feed. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

national election. Large numbers of people voted, including women, who had been guaranteed the right to vote in the new state constitution. Utah joined Wyoming and Colorado as suffrage states, while other women in the nation waited to receive the franchise. The majority of local residents, as was the case in the entire state, supported Democrat William Jennings Bryan for president (although he lost nationally to William McKinley), and Utah County Democrat William H. King defeated his Republican opponent for the state congressional seat. The Democratic party won overwhelming control of the Utah state legislature. Mrs. F.E. Stewart, a Utah County Republican and the county's first female candidate, lost her bid for a seat in the state House of Representatives in the Democratic landslide. The euphoria of finally achieving statehood and participating

in their first national election soon diminished, however, as the realities of governing appeared.

Party politics continued to draw much attention. In the November 1897 municipal election in Provo, a third party sought to draw local citizens into a “non-partisan movement.”³¹ This group sought to elect a number of people under the banner of the Citizens Reform Ticket. This effort was part of a larger national movement that became known as the Progressive Era (1889–1920)—a period punctuated with attempts by various organizations, clubs, and political groups to improve society. In this case, local county residents were trying to move beyond party politics, “determined to have good business men conduct the business affairs of the city.” They argued: “This municipal administration is merely a matter of business. Silver [a national issue of debate] has nothing to do with it. Party should not enter into the contest. It is the people’s duty to elect men who will look after their business, not to put some man in office because he is a Republican or a Democrat.”³²

The following August, a newspaper enterprise began in Utah County with strong ties to one of the national political parties. “Our Venture,” the newspaper announced, “is not a campaign venture, but is designed to be a permanent institution.”³³ Called the *Utah County Democrat*, the paper became the opposition voice to the *Territorial Enquirer*, which had become the voice of the Republican party in Utah County. Both papers played significant roles in the debates of the day, continuing their feuding into the next century. (The *Enquirer* later was sold and became the *Provo Post* in 1907; the *Democrat* was renamed the *Provo Herald* in 1909, at which time it became an independent newspaper. Both papers continued their rivalry for several years, however, until they merged in 1921, becoming the *Provo Daily Herald* in 1922.)

One of the many issues raised during this period sparked more debate and controversy for the inhabitants of Utah County than any other—the compulsory smallpox vaccination issue of 1899 to 1901. Smallpox was a major endemic disease throughout the world in the nineteenth century even though a cure had been announced in 1796 through vaccination. However, the efficacy of vaccination was challenged throughout the nineteenth century and into the beginning of

the twentieth century. The controversy exploded in Utah County among doctors, city officials, county commissioners, and state officers and was finally settled by the state lawmakers, with the support of Utah County representatives in the legislature.

As noted earlier, the board of county commissioners had the jurisdiction and the power to adopt provisions for the preservation of the health of county inhabitants. However, the authority of the county commission regarding health matters was also shared with schoolteachers and district school boards, as stipulated by the state constitution. Such overlap in authority caused confusion among schools, cities, and counties concerning the enforcement of health regulations. Because no state board of health existed, no final authority was available in the state to regulate health matters. This predicament was remedied in 1898 when health board revisions were approved by the state legislature. The governor appointed six individuals, including Dr. W.R. Pike of Provo, as members of the state's new board of health, which met officially for the first time on 17 February 1898, just before the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic.

The Utah State Board of Health discussed the proposal of compulsory vaccination of all schoolchildren and teachers throughout the state during the last part of December 1899, and in January 1900 it issued a proclamation making vaccination compulsory among schoolchildren in smallpox-infested districts. Many city councils and mayors throughout the county debated the effectiveness of vaccination, the justification for compulsory vaccination, and the state board's authority. The Spanish Fork City Council, for example, decided that a strict quarantine would be enforced but no compulsory vaccination would be required, thus rejecting the state board's edict. Springville's city council created a new city board of health to deal with the outbreak. Payson's city council prohibited all public meetings. Mayor T.N. Taylor of Provo notified students in Eureka, Payson, and Spanish Fork that compliance with the vaccination order was necessary for anyone planning to attend school in Provo.

In January the *Ogden Standard* reported that smallpox possibly existed in Springville, Payson, Spanish Fork, and Cedar Fort.³⁴ Soon several local boards in Emery County declared a quarantine against Springville, communities within that county refusing entrance to

individuals coming from Springville. As school began in the fall of 1900, new cases were reported. Fifteen new cases were reported at Payson, one at Spanish Fork, and two in Ironton. The Lehi City Council discontinued all public meetings.

In 1901 Springville finally ordered the vaccination of its children, despite the consternation of some residents who reportedly “made remarks of a censurous [*sic*] nature against [the vaccination order].”³⁵ Lehi, on the other hand, decided not to comply with compulsory vaccination of schoolchildren. Provo’s board of health informed the city superintendent of schools that teachers and students would be vaccinated. The school board refused to act, but the board of health found an ally in the city council.³⁶ However, although the city council ordered the school board to comply with the vaccination order, the council voted against paying for the service.

As conflict continued among the Utah State Board of Health, local school boards, and city councils in the county, the anti-vaccinationists took the question of compulsory vaccination to the Utah Supreme Court. Eventually, the court agreed with the state health board’s position, barring unvaccinated students from school. This position taken by the court only angered opponents to the compulsory vaccination order. The next move was to take the issue to the state legislature—the last hope of opponents to eliminate any measures compelling smallpox vaccinations in the public schools.

Seth A. Langton of Lehi, among several other individuals, submitted petitions to support the “McMillan Bill,” a bill introduced to the state legislature by William McMillan, a Republican representative from Salt Lake City, to prevent compulsory vaccinations. During the debate, Mosiah Evans, a Republican representative of Lehi and a public health committee member, moved that the bill be referred back to committee before being presented to the whole legislature. More petitions arrived, some calling for the abolition of the Utah Board of Health.

The question also surfaced in the Utah Senate, where eight formal petitions from Utah County were reviewed by Senator Abraham O. Smoot. Senators Joseph Howell and Harden Bennion introduced petitions opposing vaccinations on behalf of residents from Alpine, American Fork, Provo, and Santaquin. Some 2,600 protesters from

Provo and Logan signed additional petitions. During the debate, Representative Henry Gardner asserted that twenty-seven people in the county had contracted smallpox after being vaccinated. Finally, the majority forced a vote, and the anti-compulsory vaccination measure passed, with thirty-seven ayes against seven nays. The measure was sent to the Senate, where, on 31 January 1901, the bill passed.³⁷

In the course of deciding whether to sign or veto the McMillan Bill, Governor Heber Wells received many letters from Utah citizens, including people from Utah County. John Z. Brown, a resident of Pleasant Grove, asked the governor to sign the bill. Commenting for others in Utah County, Brown asserted, "we do not object to vaccination, but we are not in favor of excluding healthy unvaccinated children from our public schools. Compulsion to us is very offensive."³⁸

Governor Wells refused to capitulate to such public pressure, however, and vetoed the bill. The successful senate override vote on the McMillan Bill veto took place on 21 February 1901. With the passage of the McMillan Bill, Utah was unable to prevent the suffering and death from smallpox that continued to plague the citizens for another forty-four years. Eventually, through federal government legislation, schoolchildren were required to be vaccinated, forcing Utah to fall in line with the rest of the nation. This episode perhaps demonstrates a shift in attitude of the residents of the county from one of community cooperation and responsibility in the nineteenth century to one of individualism and little or no concern for the larger community of the early twentieth century, although it also manifests the conservatism and opposition to government mandates that the majority of county citizens have manifested from pioneer times to the present.

As county citizens sought to improve their lives through local and state government, another significant aspect of the nationalization of Utah occurred when the U.S. battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor, killing 266 people and igniting the Spanish-American War in 1898.³⁹ While the war was a brief one, lasting from mid-April to mid-December 1898, it was significant for county residents for two reasons. First, it helped establish the role of the United States as a major world power, which would eventually impact the political,



A celebration in Spanish Fork around the turn-of-the-century is captured by George Edward Anderson. The citizens of Utah County demonstrated their patriotism in many ways following statehood as the view reveals numerous U.S. flags and a military unit leading a parade along Main Street. (Utah State Historical Society)

social, and economic situation in the county; and, second, the war was the first time that a large number of Utah citizens participated in United States military action in common with the rest of the nation. With the outbreak of hostilities against Spain, the federal government turned to local communities for trained soldiers. In Utah County, as across the nation, units of the state national guard had been organized. But, since the national guardsmen in the county and elsewhere were not federal soldiers, Utah County guardsmen were required to reenlist as members of federal army units.

Fourth of July celebrations took on added significance during 1898 and were noted with passion in the diaries of Utah County residents. American Fork resident William Grant wrote as his summary of July 1898: "A hot month full of excitement on account of the war. Little was done here excepting the 4th celebration which was a grand

one.”⁴⁰ County churchmen endorsed President William McKinley’s call for a day of prayer and thanksgiving when special prayers were offered the second Sunday of July 1898. The war was a major topic in LDS church meetings throughout the county. The annual 24th of July pioneer celebrations in Utah County were devoted to memorial services for the American sailors who went down with the *Maine*. Many citizens throughout the county contributed to the erection of a national monument to honor them.

When Utah volunteers began to return home, Governor Heber Wells proclaimed 19 August 1899 a holiday. One resident of Lehi recalled that even before the return of the soldiers from the county “the people thronged the streets to welcome those who had fought so nobly for their country.”⁴¹ In Lehi a parade was organized which included the Lehi Silver Band, returning soldiers and their families, 250 young women of the county dressed in white and waving the Stars and Stripes, followed by carriages. According to the local paper, “It seemed that every man, woman, and child were out, ready to greet the heroes upon their arrival.”⁴² The young men received medals and were treated to a special banquet at Ned Darling’s restaurant across the street from the courthouse in Provo. In the evening, the gathering moved to Garff’s Hall to enjoy a dance in honor of the hometown heroes.

The people of the county also welcomed home other soldiers who had been stationed in Utah. On 20 April 1899 the all African-American 24th Infantry Regiment, which had fought gallantly in the war and was stationed at Fort Douglas, was greeted by local children when the regiment’s train stopped at Springville. From the windows of the train the soldiers heard “America” sung and each soldier was given a small flag.⁴³

Statehood and nationalization included more than political accommodation. The citizens of the county increasingly became tied with the larger market economy of the United States and the politics of the nation as a whole.

ENDNOTES

1. Writers’ Program of the Work Projects Administration, *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1942), 119.

2. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 18 February, 4 March, 6 March, 9 March, 16 March 1891.

3. See Nancy J. Taniguchi, "George Sutherland," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 536–37.

4. As a Republican, Sutherland was elected as a member of the first Utah House of Representatives in November 1895. From 1900 to 1903 he served as Utah's only member of the U.S. House of Representatives. From 1905 to 1916 he served in the U.S. Senate. Although defeated in 1916, Sutherland continued to be active in politics, becoming an advisor to Republican presidential hopeful Warren G. Harding in the 1920 campaign. After Harding's victory, in 1922 Sutherland was appointed to the Supreme Court bench—the only Utahn to have achieved such a distinction. He became an intellectual leader of the "Four Horsemen"—the four conservative justices who consistently voted against New Deal legislation of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s. Sutherland retired from the Court in 1938 and died on 18 July 1942.

5. John Henry Smith, Diary, 30 January 1892; Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. See also Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990).

6. First Presidency to John W. Young, 29 May 1891, LDSA.

7. John Henry Smith, Journal, 28 May 1891, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

8. *Ibid.*, 22 June 1891.

9. *Provo Enquirer*, 4 June 1891.

10. See Leonard J. Arrington, "The Sugar Industry in Utah," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 534–35; and Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar In The West: A History of The Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891–1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966).

11. *Lehi Banner*, 29 May 1891.

12. In 1894 President Grover Cleveland appointed William Henry King as an associate justice of the Utah Supreme Court. King worked tirelessly to establish the Democratic party in Utah. Elected to Congress in 1896, he served an additional term when he was elected to fill a vacancy in 1900. Unsuccessful in several attempts to regain political position, King was eventually elected to the U.S. Senate in 1916. He was finally defeated in 1940 when he was targeted by party liberals because of his outspoken criticism of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. See John Sillito, "William H. King," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 303–4.

13. Edward Partridge, Jr., Journal, 6 March 1895, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

14. *Official Report of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1898), 1:615.
15. Partridge, Journal, 4 March, 6 March, 26 March, 16 April 1895.
16. *Proceedings* 1:316, 345, 419.
17. *Ibid.*, 436.
18. Partridge, Journal, 30 March 1895.
19. *Proceedings* 1:809.
20. *Ibid.*, 1:994.
21. *Ibid.*, 1:993.
22. William Grant, Journal, November 1895, BYU Archives.
23. "James Chipman, State Treasurer," *Beehive History* 21 (1995): 6.
24. Partridge, Journal, 4 January 1896.
25. *Ibid.*, 6 January 1896.
26. Constitution of the State of Utah, Article ix, section 4; see also *Proceedings* 2:1870–71.
27. Constitution of Utah, Article xi, section 4; see also *Proceedings* 2:1872.
28. Constitution of Utah, Article vii, section 10; see also *Proceedings* 2:1867–68.
29. See *Inventory of the County Archives of Utah No. 25, Utah County*.
30. Utah County, "County Commissioners Minutes," Book D, 358–59, Utah County Clerk's Office, Provo, Utah.
31. "What the People are Saying About the Non-Partisan Movement," BYU Archives.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Utah County Democrat*, 31 August 1898.
34. *Ogden Standard*, 19 January 1900.
35. *Springville Independent*, 20 December 1900.
36. *Deseret Evening News*, 28 December 1900.
37. *House Journal* 1901, 245, Utah State Archives.
38. John Zimmerman Brown to Heber M. Wells, 1 February 1901, Wells Correspondence, Utah State Archives.
39. See Richard C. Roberts, "Utah in the Spanish-American War," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 522–23.
40. William Grant, Diary, July 1898.
41. *Lehi Banner*, 24 August 1899.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Chase, *History of Springville*, 82–83.

CHAPTER 7

EARLY ENTERPRISES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Fishing was one of the first industries, along with farming and ranching, in Utah County.¹ In 1847 Parley P. Pratt arrived at Utah Lake to fish, being the first Mormon and possibly the first Anglo-European to do so. Writing of his fishing tales, Pratt commented: "Utah Lake abounds with suckers, salmon trout [native lake trout], and various kinds of fish."² In 1849 a settlement in Utah County (Provo) was approved, with the express purpose of exploiting the rich fishing resources of Utah Lake. George Washington Bean, a member of the first colonizing group, recalled:

We soon found out that the Provo River region was the great place of gathering of all Ute tribes of central Utah valleys, too, on account of the wonderful supply of fish moving up the stream from the Lake to their spawning grounds each spring. Indeed, so great was the number of suckers and mullets passing continuously up-stream that often the River would be full from bank to bank as thick as they could swim for hours and sometimes for days. The fish could be taken in all ways and places and the Indians could feast from morning to night for weeks.³



Fishing scene at outlet of Utah Lake around 1890. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

Apparently, most county fishermen were also part-time farmers—fishing during the winter and farming during the summer. Three main species of fish caught for commercial purposes during this period were lake trout, suckers, and Utah chubs. The most prominent of the early commercial fishermen in Utah County was Peter Madsen, a Danish convert to Mormonism. He secured a fishery in September 1856. As a result of his fishing exploits at Utah Lake, a saying (always with a Danish accent) grew in popularity: “Fish for flour, pound for pound and darn good fish, too, fresh from the seine yesterday night.”⁴ Eventually, by the early 1870s, the yield of trout from Utah Lake decreased as a result of the methods of fishing, lack of strict enforcement of existing laws regulating fishing, irrigation practices that often left fish high and dry, chemical changes in the water, and, later, the introduction of new species of fish in the lake. The introduction of black bullhead catfish (1871), carp (1880s), channel catfish (1888), and large-mouth bass (1890) in the lake were among the main reasons for native Utah trout becoming extinct. By

1903 catfish had become the most important commercial fish in the lake.

Myron C. Newell, Utah County fish and game commissioner, reported in 1895 that suckers, chubs, and all other common fish taken from the lake amounted to more than 144,000 pounds in 1894. Bass contributed another 20,000 pounds and trout an additional 4,000 pounds.⁵ By the time of statehood in 1896, Utah state officials made it unlawful to take any fish by seine nets (a large fishing net made to hang vertically in the water by weights at the lower end and floats at the top) except carp, chubs, mullets, and suckers. This state law was apparently directed at Utah County fisherman. In addition, the legislature passed a law requiring mills, factories, power plants, and manufacturing concerns to screen their canals in an effort to reduce the number of trout and other fish being needlessly destroyed.

In an effort to conserve the trout in Utah Lake, the legislature passed a law in 1903 that made it illegal to catch and sell trout. In 1909 a similar law was passed to protect the bass in the lake. Common fish continued to be caught and sold in large numbers, however. Between 1911 and 1912, for example, some 6–7 million pounds of common fish were caught in Utah Lake. The percentage of fish used for human consumption gradually declined. Farmers used fish for chicken feed beginning in 1914. Common fish also were used for feed at mink ranches and fish hatcheries. When the price of meat rose during World War I, more of the fish were used for table food.

Another business associated with Utah Lake was Saratoga Resort.⁶ In 1884 John Beck bought more than a thousand acres of land on the shores of Utah Lake, including a series of warm springs. He named the area Beck's Saratoga Springs, after the famous Saratoga resort in New York. An 1891 advertisement in the *Lehi Banner* noted that a person could bathe in two large plunge baths and six hot tub baths for twenty-five cents. Additionally, the ad claimed that the "springs possess wonderful medicinal properties . . . for rheumatism and disease of the skin . . . a plunge in these health-giving waters will cure 'That Tired Feeling.'"⁷ In 1897 the water was bottled for internal use: "Saratoga Salvation is the intrinsic value of the wonderful warm springs on the Utah Lake. It possesses an actual and unrivaled power

to cure many internal and external diseases.” The ad continued: “Saratoga Salvation drives out the germs of sickness, recruits the strength of the nerves and makes the body whole and sound.”⁸

Utah Lake also spawned other resorts, including Woodbury Park north of Geneva (1880); Old Lake, west of the present airport (1883); Geneva, near the Lindon boat harbor (1888); Murdock, near Lehi (1891); Lincoln Beach, at the south end of Utah Lake near West Mountain (1892); and American Fork (1892).

Transportation and Communication

The Pony Express, which carried the overland mail from St. Joseph, Missouri, to San Francisco, California, constructed several stations in Utah County in 1860 to help link the route.⁹ The first stop in Utah County after Rockwell Station at the Point of the Mountain was Dugout (also known as Joe’s Dugout), eleven miles from Rockwell Station. In conjunction with the express and stage operation at Joe’s Dugout, Joseph Dorton operated a grocery store, used mostly by clients from Camp Floyd. The next station (about eight miles from Dugout Station at Camp Floyd) was located at John Carson’s Inn in Fairfield, and was also used as a stage stop. The Pony Express Trail exited the county through Fivemile Pass at the south end of the Oquirrh Mountains. From Fivemile Pass, the trail went on to Faust and Simpson Springs in Tooele County and eventually to Sacramento, California. The riders and station managers, including those in the county, endured many hardships and difficulties before the company ceased operations in 1861; the demise was in great part due to the completion of the transcontinental telegraph in 1861.

Transporting goods and people was both more costly and difficult than sending mail. The early pioneers, including people from the county, utilized ox carts, handcarts, and teamster freighters to help move people and goods into the territory. These operations became faster and less expensive with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869 north of the Great Salt Lake.¹⁰ Branch lines soon spread across the landscape.

In January 1870, Mormon leaders organized the Utah Southern Railroad to extend railroad service from Salt Lake City to Utah County. Construction began in May 1870; within a year it had



Train to Utah Lake Pavillion. The lake spawned many resorts during the 1880s and 1890s, including Woodbury Park in 1880, Old Lake in 1883, Saratoga Resort in 1884, Geneva in 1888, Murdock in 1891, Lincoln Beach in 1892, and American Fork in 1892. (Utah State Historical Society)

reached Lehi. Fourteen months later the line was completed to Provo. By 1 April 1875 it was at York—a railroad community at the county's southern border.

Other railroad lines extended service throughout the county. In complex trading, new companies purchased old ones during the next several decades. Among the companies established (and their dates of operation) were the American Fork Railroad Company (1872–78), Utah & Pleasant Valley Railway Company (1875–82), Salt Lake & Western Railway Company (1881–89), Denver & Rio Grande Western Railway Company (1881–89), Rio Grande Western Railway Company (1889–1908), Tintic Range Railway Company (1891–1908), Utah Eastern Railway Company (1897–1908), Utah Railway Company (1912–present), Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad Company (1916–present), Oregon Short Line & Utah Northern Railway Company (1889–97), and Salt Lake & Mercur Railroad Company (1894–1913).

The coming of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad in

1881 had two immediate economic effects upon the region. First, it opened up the coal fields of Carbon County and created low coal prices as well as adequate supplies of the fuel for Utah County residents. Second, the D&RGW ended the monopoly on interstate traffic of the Union Pacific Railroad, resulting in lower prices for the transportation of goods.

Spanish Fork Canyon became a key part of the link between Ogden and Denver during this period. Development in the canyon was rapid, as towns, including Colton, Thistle, Mill Fork, Tucker, and Gilluly in Utah County, sprang up along the new railway line.¹¹ Colton, known as Pleasant Valley Junction, was located at the junction of the Price and White Rivers. In the mid-1890s the name was changed to Colton for William F. Colton, a railroad official. The community was a junction and a railroad siding that served the coal mining town of Scofield. The community was abandoned in the 1950s as improved equipment made longer railroad hauls possible, eliminating the need for the station.

Thistle (at the junction of Thistle Creek and Soldier Creek, twenty-three miles southeast of Provo) was the railroad junction of the Sevier Railway and the D&RGW railroad. The track from Tucker to Pleasant Valley was taken up and relaid toward the summit in Spanish Fork Canyon. Thistle had more than 228 inhabitants by 1890. A major station on the main line of the railroad, the community contained a depot, beanery, water system, post office, schools, several stores, a barber shop, a pool hall, and a saloon. Because Thistle was also a suitable spot for locomotive maintenance before the tough climb to Soldier Summit, the railroad built an eight-stall roundhouse, water tanks, a coal tipple, and a machine shop there. With the introduction of powerful diesel locomotives, helper engines were no longer needed on the pull up to Soldier Summit; as a result, the population at Thistle began to decline.

As many as 250 people lived at Mill Fork, located about twelve miles east of Thistle. Established by the Utah and Pleasant Valley Railroad Company, the three sawmills in the town processed thousands of railroad ties for the developing railway system. The town also included a general merchandise store, water tower, and four sec-

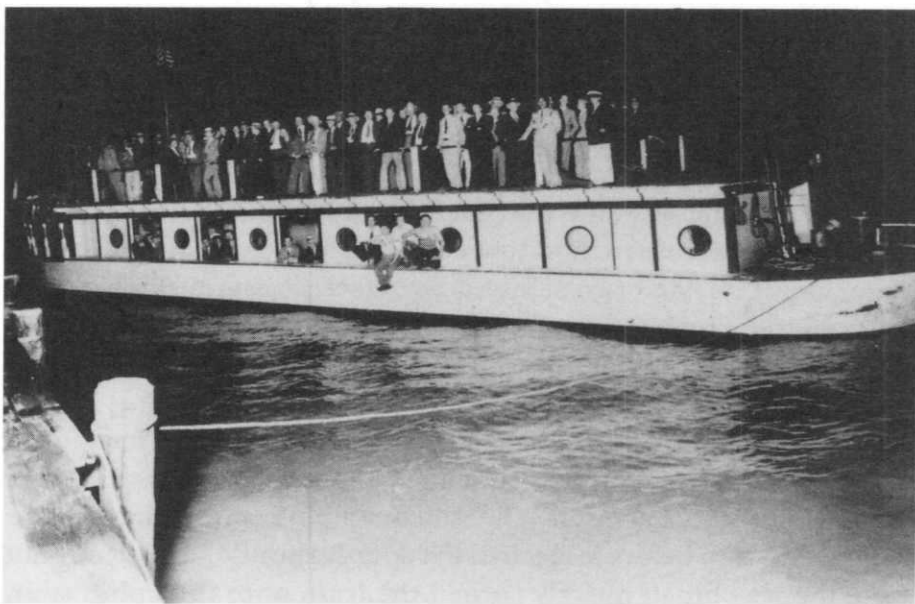
tion houses for railroad employees. A helper engine was also stationed there. The railway station operated until 1947.

Tucker, named for early settler James Tucker, was a major railroad station in Spanish Fork Canyon; the community is now abandoned. It was from there that the Utah and Pleasant Valley Railroad turned south and west into the coal fields at Pleasant Valley. The town was a booming construction town and livestock shipping point for a time, and it boasted two saloons, two hotels, several stores, and a roundhouse. Engines from Tucker were commonly used to assist in the climb up to Soldier Summit. At one time, at least a thousand people were said to have lived there.¹²

Known also as Upper Tucker, Gilluly provided water for the old steam engines. The railroad maintained a spur siding for trains coming down from the summit. The spur ran uphill, and each train was required to stop before it reached the spur turnout. If a train did not stop, the watchman quickly turned the train onto the uphill spur, where it could come to a safe stop.

In addition to railroad communities, the railway opened the expansion of recreational sites to the public. The first major railroad siding up Spanish Fork Canyon at the turn of the century was located at Castilla, approximately seven miles east of Spanish Fork. A warm-springs resort, Castilla was developed as early as 1891. It included a three-story hotel, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, dining and dancing pavilions, and other recreational amenities. At the height of the resort's popularity, special excursion trains brought visitors to the resort from all over Utah County and beyond, including Salt Lake City. When the resort closed in the 1920s, limestone was mined from the area for use in the blast furnace of the Ironton Steel Plant. A railroad siding also extended into Diamond Fork Canyon, where a fine grade of red sandstone was quarried and shipped to locations throughout the state for building purposes.

The transportation revolution, which helped establish these railroad communities, also stimulated the development of mining, as the trains made it possible and profitable to exploit the mineral resources in the hills and mountains of Utah County. In fact, railroads did more to increase mining activities in the county than did any other development.



S.S. Sho-Boat was the largest boat to sail on Utah's largest fresh water lake when launched in 1931, but it was not the first excursion boat on the lake. As early as 1855 the county court granted four individuals permission to utilize a boat for exploring, fishing, and carrying passengers on pleasure trips. During the next sixty years a fleet of excursion boats increased utilizing the lake as a means of income and recreation. (Norma Smith Wright)

Some of the earliest mining in the county started in American Fork Canyon in 1868. In 1870 the area was organized into a mining district. The canyon boomed with the discovery of silver, lead, and some gold in the area of Mineral Basin and the establishment of the Miller Mine that same year. One year later, the Miller brothers sold this mine for \$190,000 to General Lloyd Aspinwall and others, who built a narrow-gauge railroad from the town of Lehi to Tibble Fork in American Fork Canyon; it operated from 1872 to 1878. Two other operations of note in the same district were the Sultana Smelter and the tramway from the Yankee Glove and Miller mines. An article in the *Utah Mining Gazette* reported in 1873: "The kilns are connected with the [Sultana] smelter by means of a tramway built on trestles, over which the coal cars run to the dump, near the furnace doors. . . . In the rear of the [smelter] building a platform is constructed of

plank, and used as an ore dump, to receive the ore brought from the Miller Mine, two miles off, by means of the tramway.”¹³ As the demand for wood soared, Forest City, a town of 150 people, was built at the upper end of the canyon. Most of the area’s accessible timber was used to supply building materials, mine props, smelting charcoal, and railroad ties.

Several other mining camps were established in American Fork Canyon, including Pittsburgh, a community established above Forest City in the 1870s. The American Fork Mining District yielded nearly \$4 million in ore between 1870 and 1876. In 1902 the silver mines reopened when a new body of rich ore was discovered.

Between 1892 and 1893, miners from the Duke-Onyx Company in Chicago mined Hansen’s Cave, stripping it of some of the beautiful formations. Some of the onyx there was reportedly used in the Salt Lake LDS Temple. Eventually, the federal government stepped in and prevented the further exploitation of the caves in that section of American Fork Canyon when it created Timpanogos Cave National Monument in 1922, invalidating all mining claims in the area.¹⁴

Another important mining district was the Tintic District, located partly in southwestern Utah County and partly in Juab County. By 1976 total production of base and precious metals from this district was estimated at 16,654,377 tons, with a value of more than \$568 million at the time of production.¹⁵

Dividend was the principal mining community in Utah County at Tintic. Mining there began in 1907, and in 1918 a town began to grow following the discovery of a large silver deposit. A company town, Dividend was the site of the Tintic Standard Mine, which reportedly was one of the top five silver-producing mines in the entire world. Some cabins and other outbuildings were erected to provide the necessary shops and shelters for the miners. John Westerdahl became the first foreman at the operation. During the first years of operation, before ore was discovered, miners were paid in part with shares of stock, and it was not uncommon for a miner to go to a saloon in nearby Eureka and swap his certificates for a round of drinks. Many people believed that the mine would never produce anything and mercantile establishments began to refuse to extend the company or any of its employees credit. Alice Fox, a resi-



American Fork Railroad Company locomotive at Hanging Rock in American Fork Canyon. (Utah State Historical Society)

dent of Goshen at the time, remembered watching an employee at a store in Goshen being "reprimanded because he had been letting the Tintic Standard [employees] have provisions in exchange for company stock at the rate of five cents a share."¹⁶

More than 4,000 feet of shafts, inclines, raises, and crosscuts were dug at the site by 1916, at a cost of \$407,000. The principle stockholder in the venture, E.J. Raddatz, contributed a significant amount of money, finally mortgaging his home in Salt Lake City for \$10,000 to help pay to continue work at the site. Without any other resources, the Tintic Standard Mine finally had only one option left—ore had to be found. Finally, below the 1,200-foot level, ore was discovered, resulting in a steady flow of material from the mine to the smelters. The summer of 1916 witnessed a significant increase of activity around the mine. New structures were built, including a boarding house with the capability of rooming seventy men.

An early resident of the mining camp, Mary Afton White Felt, recalled the day she moved to Dividend on 18 May 1922: "We moved in bag and baggage. . . . I was just happy to be here to be a part of this [mining] camp, to make a home and raise a good family, and to be a friend to these people. . . . There were 11 houses on our east side of the street and 8 across the road all painted a drab gray color." The town had mining offices, hotels, a schoolhouse, amusement hall, barber shop, pool hall, and seventy-five private residences. Eventually, a sewer system was installed to replace the outdoor toilets. Because the company owned all the land, it controlled the development of the town, including the building used by the Tintic Standard Club, whose membership was made up of all the employees of the mine. An annual membership fee of twenty-five cents (later increased to fifty cents) was assessed. Free dances and moving pictures were provided each week in the amusement hall. Baseball teams competed on a new field established below the town.

A golf course, shooting range, and tennis courts were built to meet the recreational needs of the community. No churches were constructed, but religious organizations had access to company buildings. The Elberta Branch of the LDS church, for example, utilized the local theater for meetings. Felt remembered: "Not one religion predominated. The cosmopolitan population registered a

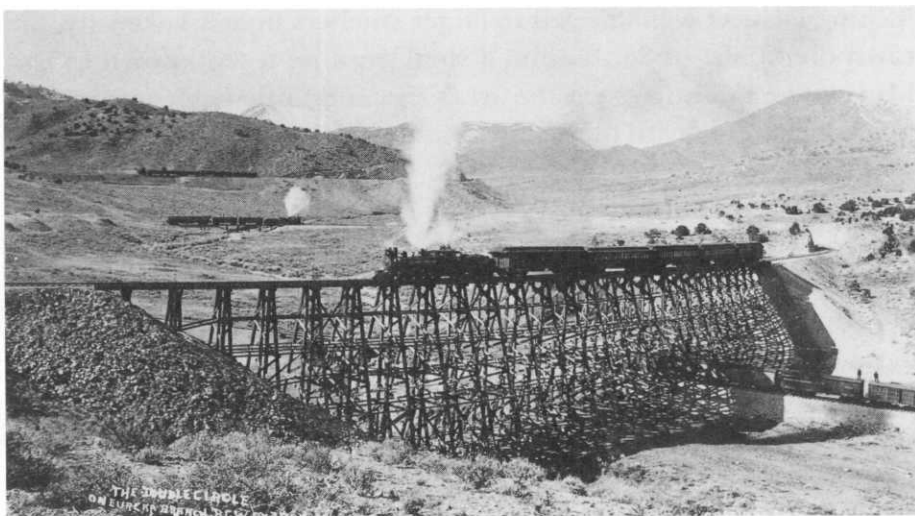
number of different faiths: Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptists, and Mormon.”¹⁷

The significant payroll at the town drew the attention of robbers in 1921. A local paper reported a “sensational robbery” that ended in the death of Tintic Standard Mine superintendent John Westerdahl. He “entered the store during progress of the robbery, but appeared to think that some joke was being played. He asked for a cigar, and when told to hold up his hands he complied with the request but a second or two later the robbers started shooting.”¹⁸ L.P. Peterson, a proprietor of a pool hall in town, also was killed in the robbery, and John Manson, proprietor of the store, and Jesus Fernandez, a miner, were wounded.

During the early production period to 1921 dividends totaling \$1,651,067 were paid. The town’s population increased in the early 1920s. Citizens of Dividend often felt that Utah County did not pay enough attention to their needs. For example, the *Eureka Reporter* noted in 1922: “Utah County has always showed a disposition to give Tintic a rotten deal in the matter of road improvements. . . . Provo and other cities of Utah County demand and get pavement and decent gravel roads, but Tintic which has, throughout fifty or more years, poured a stream of wealth into that part of the state, must be satisfied with a road that is unfit for travel a good part of the year.”¹⁹

In 1949, after approximately thirty-four years of operation, the Tintic Standard Mine closed. More than \$19 million in dividends were paid during its history. People moved away after the mine’s closure, eventually reducing the town to only a few inhabitants. Mary Felt recalled leaving her home in Dividend:

We purchased the home we had lived in since 1935, and moved [the house] to Springville. I felt sad as we rounded the turns leaving Dividend and the many friends to make our [new] home in [Utah] valley. Mainly, I had a feeling of emptiness. We lived in Dividend almost a quarter of a century happy and content. We return from time to time, hoping to recapture or relive for a moment, some of the pleasant memories, we have stored in our minds about our town and friends, but each time it seemed less possible, that a town with all its activities ever existed there. . . . Foliage, sage brush, cedar trees, and wild flowers are again paint-



The “Double Circle” on Eureka Branch of Rio Grande Western Railroad. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

ing the scene. Not a road or spot which might indicate where our house once stood. It is now a ghost town, much to our sorrow.²⁰

Another abandoned mining site in the county is Manning, slightly more than five miles southeast of Mercur. In the late 1880s, a \$25,000 mill was constructed on a large flat in Manning Canyon for treatment of ores from Mercur in Tooele County. The town that grew up around the mill was really part of Mercur but was located at this place because of the water supply there. Remodeled in 1890, the mill became the first cyanide plant in the nation. When a second plant was built in Mercur, the Manning facility was shut down. Reactivated in the early 1930s, the new mill reworked the old tailings, but this mill was dismantled and moved to Mercur in 1937—leaving nothing but dumps, old building foundations, and a myriad of other items such as bricks and broken glass at the abandoned site.

Homansville, located near Eureka, was the site of another small mining settlement. By 1875 as many as 300 people lived in Homansville. Besides a general store, saloons, and a post office, numerous homes were constructed at the site. The Tintic Range Railroad, built to Eureka from Springville in 1892, passed through this small town. When most of the ore processed from the Tintic

Mining District was shipped to larger smelters in Salt Lake City, the town died. East of Santaquin, a small mining town known as Eva Mine was established near the area's Eva and Little Eagle mines. The quick birth and death of the town has left almost no trace at the present time.

Harold, established on Warm Spring Mountain east of Goshen, was named for Harold Raddatz, son of E.J. Raddatz. The site of the Tintic Standard reduction mill, a small community grew following the completion of the mill in 1920. By March 1921 the mill treated between 160 and 180 tons of ore per day, increasing its output to 200 tons a day by 1922. Like many other mining and processing centers, work at the site continued on a twenty-four-hour basis, and about twenty-five men per shift were employed. Consisting of a boarding and lodging house, a commissary, and several other dwellings for mill officials, the small town provided employment for workers from Goshen, Genola, and Santaquin, creating a brief boom period that turned to bust in 1925 when the mill closed.

County residents benefited from the Tintic Mining District not only because of the additional money spent for goods and services in the region but also because it was a source of labor for various operations. For example, a report in 1920 noted: "Residents of Santaquin are anticipating great benefits from the operation of the Tintic Standard's new [smelting] mill at Warm Creek."²¹ About seventy-five men were employed at the time constructing the facility, and the bulk of the labor came from Santaquin. For Goshen, this period of the Tintic Standard's operation was a boom period, because the town was conveniently located between the mine and the mill.

One of the most interesting mining stories in Utah County is that of the "Koyle Dream Mine." Located east of Salem, the mine was named after John H. Koyle, who was born at Spanish Fork in 1864. Koyle became famous in Utah County for his dreams, especially after he announced the location of a gold mine following a vision in 1894. The mine was also known as the "Relief Mine," because its wealth was to be used to help people. Since Koyle was the Mormon bishop of the Leland Ward near Spanish Fork, LDS church leaders in Salt Lake City became concerned with his activities and sent geologist James E. Talmage to investigate. Talmage indicated that he found no evidence

that precious metals would ever be found in the strata being explored. When Koyle refused to terminate his involvement in the venture, he was released from his church assignment.

Although several county residents continued to support him, others were amazed that Koyle was able to persuade some local citizens to invest in the "Dream Mine." The *Eureka Reporter* noted in 1913: "The Koyle Dream Mine is still a problem. A company was formed to open up the property that is near Spanish Fork following a dream by Bishop Koyle." The newspaper continued: "About \$30,000 has been spent on the property. A depth of 11,000 feet has been reached by a shaft. So far no ore has been found. Yet the stock finds a ready sale in and about Spanish Fork at \$1.50 per share. It need not occasion surprise to someday wake up and find that a property dreamed after this fashion will cause many of the shareholders to have some very bad dreams later."²²

In 1929 the *Eureka Reporter* noted: "A grand jury may be asked to investigate the operations and stock selling schemes of the parties in charge of Utah County's famous 'Dream Mine.'" The report noted Koyle's membership in the LDS church and added: "It is claimed that most of the suckers who have made investments in his company have been members of that religious faith, although when interest was running high as a result of the 'discovery' of platinum ore many others are alleged to have put money in the stock." Stock prices went from a "few cents a share to \$10." According to the news article, the church "warned their followers against" investing in any venture that "is alleged to be aided by supernatural means."²³ Koyle lost his membership in the Mormon church in 1948 as controversy over the Dream Mine continued. He died a year later in Payson, without finding the earthly treasure; yet many people continued to keep interest in the mine alive. As late as 1995 the *Provo Daily Herald* ran an advertisement: "100 Shares Dream/Relief mine stock for sale. \$100/share. Will sell increments."²⁴

At the other end of the spectrum, Jesse Knight was respected by most county residents and was an actual benefactor to the community. He was a central figure in the development of the county's non-agricultural economic base.²⁵ Born in Nauvoo, Illinois, Knight moved to Utah and eventually settled in Provo in 1857. When he married



Photograph of the mining community of Dividend around 1922. (Afton White Felt Family)

Amanda McEwan, Knight moved to a dairy farm in Payson and in the 1870s began to prospect. After some limited successes, Knight discovered the Humbug Mine in the East Tintic Mountains in 1886 and later acquired several other mines in the Tintic Mining District. In the process, Knight became one of the relatively few Mormon mining magnates in Utah. The monthly income from just two of his mines (the Humbug and Uncle Sam) averaged \$10,000. Even more impressive, the Iron Blossom mine paid \$2,370,000 in dividends from 1906 until 1916.

In 1890 Knight moved his family to Provo. His efforts to help develop the county's economy made him, for many residents, deserving of the affectionate nickname "Uncle Jesse." He is remembered as a patron of individuals and institutions in the county, including Brigham Young Academy. Through a variety of enterprises, such as the Knight Investment Company, he managed to expand beyond the county. One such venture was the Knight Sugar Company in Raymond, Alberta, Canada, incorporated on 17 October 1902 to produce and sell beet sugar and other saccharine products. In addition, the company sold land, operated lumberyards, brickyards, lime kilns,

and stone quarries, and also developed the region through farming and ranching.²⁶ Such activity drew some Utha County residents away from their homes to begin a new life in Alberta.

While Knight built his empire, the communication frontier was expanding rapidly. Following the introduction of the railroad in the county in 1871, the Deseret Telegraph soon helped link county residents with Salt Lake City and the rest of the world. The line was a scientific wonder, much as is the modern computer industry, and the result was significant because news that once took weeks to reach Utah now arrived in minutes. Soon, telegraph offices were located in American Fork, Lehi, Payson, Provo, Springville, Spanish Fork, Santaquin, and Thistle Station.

Another important means of communication was newspapers. On 2 May 1863 Joseph E. Johnson began publishing the *Farmer's Oracle* in Spring Lake Villa. Though it was short-lived (1863–1864), the paper provided news and agricultural-related information to local farmers and fruit growers, such as a report on planting and grafting grapes in May 1863, on pear stocks in January 1864, and on peach orchards in April 1864.²⁷ On the masthead, Johnson printed: "The hand of Industry makes the Desert to bud, bloom and bear fruit, and rears the proudest structures of Earth." Johnson, who had published several papers before coming to Utah, later moved to Washington County and published seven newspapers there.

Army personnel produced the *Valley Tan* at Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley from November 1858 to 1860. Provo's first newspaper, the *Provo Daily Times*, was published by Robert Gibson Slater.²⁸ Slater and his wife, Mary Susannah Higgs, lived in Salt Lake City, where he was among the seven charter members of the Deseret Typographical Union and was listed as a traveling agent for the *Daily Telegraph*. In 1872 Slater settled in Provo to begin a newspaper. He asked Oscar Lyons, Robert T. McEwan, and Joseph T. McEwan, all experienced printers, and his young brother-in-law B.T. Higgs (a printer's apprentice) to join him in starting the paper. In August 1873 the first issue of the county's first countywide newspaper was published as the self-proclaimed "official paper of Utah County . . . a paper for the people."²⁹ During the next several years, the paper changed owners

and names (*Utah County Times*, *Utah County Advertiser*, and *Utah County Enquirer*), but the local newspaper business was established.

Another communication revolution began when a telephone connection with Salt Lake City was made at Provo in 1887. Two years later, the Provo City Council approved a twenty-year franchise lease for Rocky Mountain Bell Company. Several decades passed, however, before the new service affected the average county resident. Also, just as the transcontinental railroad and telegraph service joined in Utah, the first transcontinental telephone service began in 1914 when the lines were connected on 17 June on the Nevada/Utah border. Once the long-distance telephone service was completed, county residents, along with the rest of the nation, enjoyed a communication convenience that is commonplace today.

Within a short time, these new technologies began to change life in the county. Each in its own way added a dimension to life that greatly affected the society and culture. Of all the advances, electricity was probably the most important. Electric service came to Utah in 1881 at Salt Lake City. The first electric lights in Utah County appeared in Provo in 1890, a year after the granting of the first electric franchise to Reed Smoot and others. Two native Ohioans, Lucien L. Nunn and Paul N. Nunn, played significant roles in the development of electricity in the county at this time.³⁰ When Lucien Nunn came to Utah in 1894, he located many hydroelectric sites, including one on the Provo River, three miles up Provo Canyon. He eventually built two plants in Utah County, with his brother as the construction engineer.

To integrate power service into one area-wide system, Utah Power and Light Company (UP&L) was incorporated on 6 September 1912 as a subsidiary of a large holding company, Electric Bond and Share Company of New York. Within two months, the new company began consolidating into one organization the diverse companies then in operation. Lucien L. Nunn's Telluride Power Company, which included five plants serving parts of southeastern Idaho, western Colorado, and northern Utah, including mines at Bingham and Eureka, was acquired on 22 November 1912. A second company, Knight Consolidated Power Company, was acquired on 7 February 1913. Jesse Knight's power company, formerly a bitter rival of

Telluride Power Company, served parts of Utah and Salt Lake Counties and the Tintic and Park City mining districts.

Demand for electricity grew in both the private sector and in the business community in the county. For example, in 1915, UP&L contracted to supply electrical power to Hoover Brothers Flour Mill and the Knight Woolen Mills in Provo. The expansion also included the agricultural sector of the economy, including the running of electric pumps to provide water for irrigation. By 1922 electricity was firmly established in Utah County.

Another wonder of the age appeared when John Devey astonished Lehi residents in May 1900 as he drove around town in a horseless carriage of his own making. Although it was the fourth automobile in the state, it was the first one manufactured in Utah, and, unlike the other three cars, this auto was not powered by steam but by an internal-combustion engine. Soon, other cars began to replace horses, carriages, and wagons as the means to move people and goods throughout the county.

Other businesses in the county also improved and impacted the economic growth of the region. Oliver Boardman Huntington, a respected Mormon pioneer, became president of the Utah Beekeepers in 1892.³¹ Through his efforts, the territorial legislature passed a bee inspection law that year to eradicate a long-standing problem—a disease that killed entire hives of honeybees. The law asked each county to hire a bee inspector to help detect the dreaded disease and stop its spread from one hive to another. Huntington was hired as one of the inspectors in Utah County before the 1893 season. For the next two years, he inspected every swarm of honey bees in Mapleton, Provo, Springville, and Spanish Fork.

The law and the work of the county bee inspectors was effective, and soon this home industry expanded to help meet the demand for the natural sweetener. S.T. Fish and Company of Chicago began buying Utah County honey in 1892. The first shipment was loaded at Springville, and on 3 November 22,000 pounds of honey began the journey east. The amount of honey from Benjamin, Payson, Provo, Springville, and Spanish Fork increased the next season. In October 1893 the seventy-year-old Huntington carefully packed another box-car that transported the county product to the eastern United States

and to Europe. More than 34,000 pounds of honey from central and southern Utah County were sold that year alone. The bees played another important role in the economy of the county—they were used to pollinate the blossoms of the fruit trees and seed crops in the region, thus helping to increase the economic well-being of Utah.

Manufacturing and Other Industrial Growth

When the pioneers arrived in Utah County, they brought shovels, axes, hoes, forks, scythes, saws, hammers, picks, crowbars, hand plows, and other assorted tools. Oxen, horses, and mules also supplied power used by men and women to complete much of their heavy work. Blacksmiths were an essential part of the pioneer economy. Mechanical hay mowers and grain binders on iron wheels arrived in the county in the 1860s. Horses and mules continued to supply the muscle for the farming communities in the county well into the twentieth century.

Edward Boyer noted that the Barker brothers were reported to be the first to bring to Springville “a steam engine on wheels and all wooden Red River Grain thrasher, all on iron wheels.”³² Still, horses were often used to help move the thrasher and tractor. Boyer recalled life in Springville when such changes were taking place: “That was a major change, when people began to not have cows and pigs in their lots.” He continued: “Up until 1926, everybody had a horse and buggy. Even after we had a car in 1916 or 1918, there were four cars in Springville, everybody had horses. All the grading equipment, as well as the farm equipment, was pulled by horse power.”³³

Although debt was virtually unknown during the first few decades after the founding of Utah County, 20 percent of the farms in the territory were mortgaged in 1890. By 1920 as much as 50 percent of Utah farmers worked under massive debts. The shift in the county’s agricultural development was most noticeable in an aggressive search for cash crops. Sugar beets made a big difference in the county; by 1920, Utah sugar-beet farmers ranked third in the nation in beet production.

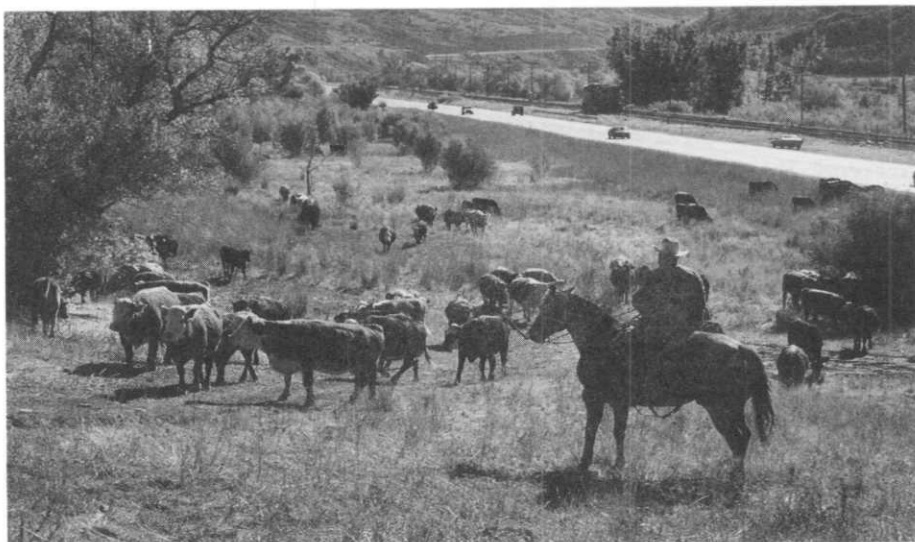
Ranching also played a significant role in the economy of the region, beginning shortly after the first settlers arrived in the county. Unique peculiarities of the Utah livestock industry resulted from

Mormon cooperative efforts.³⁴ Fencing was lacking, and community herds and grounds often became common during pioneer settlement days. Even though stock increased rapidly, neither Utah County nor the territory was considered ranching country before the railroad arrived. By the 1870s, however, the situation had changed in the county, and a livestock industry was firmly established. An increase in the number of cattle preceded a similar increase of sheep. Prominent ranching families emerged in the county, and strategically placed towns like Spanish Fork took on regional importance.

Between 250 and 300 carloads of beef and mutton were shipped from Spanish Fork by 1930.³⁵ Five years earlier, the Utah County Livestock Show was established in the town, an outgrowth of exhibitions organized by the Spanish Fork Livestock Association beginning in 1918 and the Spanish Fork Horse Show, begun even earlier. Reed Smoot and George Sutherland, both Utah County residents, became important political allies to the local ranching interests, representing this constituency well in Washington, D.C. The county livestock industry contributed to range overgrazing and erosion problems, however, which ultimately resulted in major flooding in the county in 1930 and 1952. Cooperation between ranching interests and the federal government eventually brought about several erosion-control projects and increased supervision of the public lands by the federal government.

Manufacturing enterprises also increased during the second half of the nineteenth century as the economy expanded. While manufacturing in Utah, like that in the rest of the western United States, has always been smaller than the national average, Utah's manufacturing sector was still larger than that of neighboring states or territories. The Mormon pioneers' desire to be self-sufficient ensured that manufacturing played a role in the local economy. Utah's manufacturing efforts included several Utah County operations; among them were Utah Valley Iron Mining and Manufacturing Company, Provo Foundry and Machine Company, the Provo Woolen Mills, and the Provo Pottery Company.

When the Provo Woolen Mills—which had been part of the Mormon cooperative movement—finally closed, Jesse Knight purchased the enterprise in June 1910. It now was to become a com-



Ted Larson moves his cattle to a corral in Spanish Fork Canyon on 16 October 1997, continuing one of the early enterprises developed in the county. (Jason M. Olson, *Daily Herald*)

pletely market-oriented establishment, without church support. The operation was reincorporated by Jesse Knight, J. William Knight, R.E. Allen, W. Lester Mangum, T.N. Taylor, and Royal J. Murdock as the Knight Woolen Mills. Additional capital from the LDS church received in November, however, assisted the mills to reopen. C.W. Nibley and John C. Cutler, as directors, represented the Mormon church's interest.

In 1914, expansion of the business included a cutting and sewing department housed in a new brick building. When John Smith became the manager at the facility in 1916, the profits rose, giving the mills a new lease on life through making the "black Mormon underwear" that kept many westerners warm. In July 1918, however, the business suffered a setback when a disastrous fire destroyed a large part of the mills; but work continued. Following the death of Smith in 1924, Charles Ottenheimer, the president of the company, became the general manager, and, with George W. Seagraves as superintendent and Victor J. Bird as secretary, the company continued to function. It finally closed its doors in 1932, after sixty years of operation.

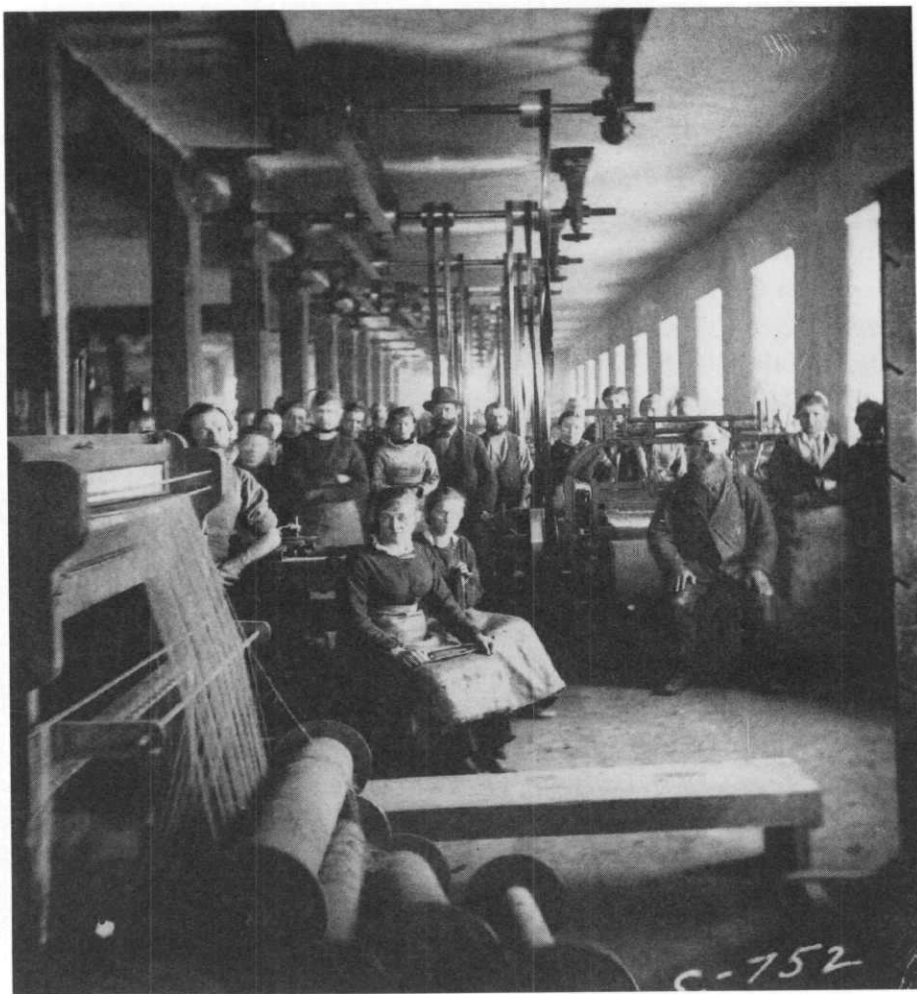
Utah County, at the turn of the century, offered a wide variety of

goods and services to citizens. An examination of the *Polk & Co. Provo City & Utah County Directory 1901–1902* reveals a world that stands as a bridge between the pioneer period and the modern twentieth century. The county was served by two independent express companies: Wells, Fargo & Co. Express and Pacific Express Company. Telephone service was supplied by Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company. Telegraph service was supplied by Western Union Telegraph Company. Railroad service included several lines: the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railway, the Heber Branch (a subsidiary of the D&RGW), and the Oregon Short Line.

The Bank of American Fork, Lehi Commercial and Savings Bank, Payson Exchange Saving Bank, Provo Commercial and Savings, and the Bank of Spanish Fork were listed as serving the financial needs of the county. Newspapers in the county included *The Advance* (American Fork); the *Lehi Banner*; *The Globe-Header* (Payson); and three papers published in Provo—the *Daily Enquirer*, *Semi-Weekly Enquirer*, and *Utah County Democrat*.

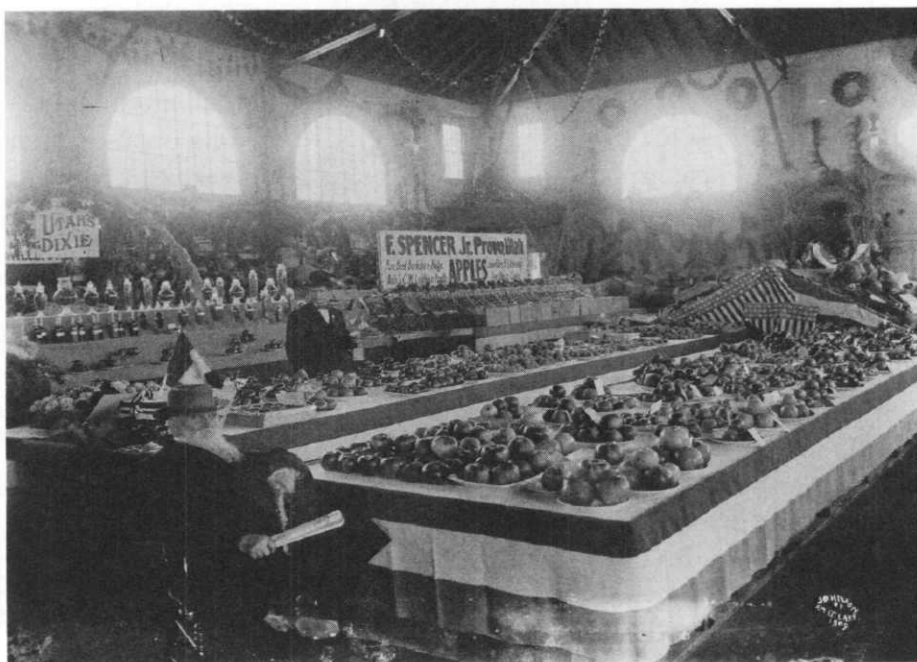
Polk's 1901–1902 directory listed more than 2,659 individuals as owning ten acres or more in the county, based on official county tax lists. Farmers in Alpine, American Fork, Benjamin, Cedar Fort, Clinton (Bird's Eye), Fairfield, Goshen, Lake Shore, Lake View, Lehi, Mapleton, Payson, Pleasant Grove, Pleasant Valley Junction (Colton), Provo, Salem, Santaquin, Spanish Fork, Springville, Thistle, and Tucker were listed. Included among owners of farm property were residents outside of the county, including owners from Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming, and England.³⁶

The classified business directory demonstrated the shift that was taking place from an agricultural to a goods-and-services-oriented economy, which a century later had totally eclipsed farming as the county's major economic foundation. Businesses ranged from architects to bicycle dealers, from booksellers to candy manufacturers, from dentists to electrical suppliers, from florists to goldsmiths, from hoteliers to ice dealers, from lawyers to marble and granite workers, from opticians to photographers, from plumbers, steam, and gas fitters to real-estate dealers, from saloons to telegraph and telephone companies, and from undertakers and embalmers to wine and liquor dealers.



An early view of the Provo Woolen Mill by Charles W. Carter. The mill was one of the earliest pioneer manufacturing establishments in the territory. When Jesse Knight purchased the business in 1910 there was hope that the business, now completely market-oriented, would stimulate the county's economy. The factory operated until 1932. (LDS Church Archives)

During this period, independent businessmen began to organize to promote economic growth in the county. The Provo Chamber of Commerce was organized on 10 September 1887, with H. Dusenberry as chairman of the meeting and George Sutherland as secretary, to promote the interests of the community, such as new



Ellis Johnson's 1909 photograph shows F. Spencer, Jr.'s display of products from his farm in Provo. Local farmers highlighted their products at county and state fairs, hoping to generate interest in Utah County. (LDS Church Archives)

businesses and better schools. Previously, the LDS church had called for self-sufficiency among the settlers; now the chamber encouraged outside businesses and capital to invest in the county.

As the LDS church began to step back from its prominent role in economic planning, Mormon businessmen built economic bridges, just as they established political ties with non-Mormons. Protestants, Catholics, and Mormons joined forces to promote the interests of the communities through a variety of organizations such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, and Commercial clubs and chambers of commerce. In 1905, for example, several Lehi residents met in the Lehi Commercial and Savings Bank to organize the Lehi Commercial Club. Like similar organizations which began to proliferate during this period, the purpose of the Lehi club was to foster business interests, encourage new industry, advertise local products, and furnish social activities for the

community. Fourteen years after its founding in Chicago, a branch of the Rotary Club was organized in the county on 17 June 1919. A number of goals for Provo were outlined by the local chapter, including “better things for Provo and a better city.”³⁷ Leading businessmen and clergy in the county joined and participated in various civic and promotional activities. The Provo Commercial Club hosted an annual “Booster Ball,” billed as the biggest social event of the season. Founded in 1915, the Kiwanis Club came to Utah in 1920.

Women in the county organized the Provo chapter of Business and Professional Women (BPW), a national organization dedicated to educate and involve women in civic and business interests. Among other activities, the Provo BPW sponsored an annual scholarship for a BYU freshman young woman and heard experts lecture on a variety of topics. Other business-related organizations also encouraged the optimistic attitudes of the “boosters.”

The process of diversifying the economy of the county took several decades; but, in the end, Utah County’s economy was assimilated into the national market economy, something the first pioneers wanted to avoid. Local chambers of commerce and banks were now promoting the national market economic system. The county, like the rest of Utah, prepared to enter the new century more connected with the rest of the nation than ever before.

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CHAPTER 8

THE ERA OF THE GREAT WAR, 1900–1919

Northern Arizona native Ruth Leila Kempe came to Utah County to attend school at Brigham Young Academy. On 15 February 1901 she noted in her diary: “Last night our Dear Beloved Brother Maeser passed away from this world of sorrow.”¹ Karl G. Maeser had been the leading light at the school in Provo from 1876 until his retirement in 1892. Maeser’s death signaled not only the loss of a great contributor to education and culture in Utah County but also the end of an era. The early pioneers of Utah County were dying, and a new generation began filling their place of leadership—participating more fully in business, political, and cultural aspects of the larger American society.

There was no greater evidence of this than the introduction and local participation in sports. Baseball and football grew in popularity during this period, as did track, as Utahns competed against each other as well as other teams from across the nation. The Olympic Games, however, brought Utah athletes together with other Americans to compete as a team against competitors from other nations, and their participation in the Olympics was another telling



Development in the county during this period is shown in the February 1914 photograph of “some modern homes in Payson.” (Utah State Historical Society)

part of the history of nationalization for Utah. During the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, Sweden, Utah farm boy and BYU student Alma Richards competed in the high jump event. Under the guidance of famous and well-beloved BYU coach Eugene L. “Gene” Roberts, Richards became the first Utahn to win an Olympic gold medal. Richards recalled: “Nothing ever will erase that memory, when King Gustav stepped forward to place the Gold medal around my neck while the Stars and Stripes rose to the top of the highest flag pole and the band played the ‘Star Spangled Banner.’”²

Clint Larson, another BYU athlete, stunned the 20,000 spectators at the Penn Relays annual track and field meet at Philadelphia in April 1917. Alma Richards had set the record in the high jump in 1915 at six feet five inches, and now the young BYU athlete attempted to break the record by trying to clear the bar at six feet five and three-eighths inches. He not only broke Richards’s record and became the intercollegiate high jump champion but also set a new record that lasted for seventeen years.³ BYU sports was just one indication of the

transformation and integration of Utah and its namesake county with the nation at large.

While the LDS church played a reduced role in local economic matters, its efforts in the 1890s to save the Lehi Sugar Works began to reap benefits for Utah County residents around the turn of the century when the factory became immensely successful. Its capacity was increased in 1901 to 1,500 tons daily. Cutting plants were established at Payson, Pleasant Grove, Provo, Spanish Fork, and Springville. As sugar prices climbed at the outbreak of World War I in Europe, new factories were built at Payson, Spanish Fork, and Springville.

Another stimulus to economic activity in Utah County was the assistance received by local residents from the federal government to help expand their agricultural lands through Utah's first federal reclamation project. On 26 and 27 May 1916, citizens from all around Utah County descended upon Payson to celebrate the expected completion of the Strawberry Irrigation Project and the interurban railroad. At 10:00 A.M., a "golden spike" was driven to signify the completion of the interurban railroad; it was followed by an automobile parade over the canal through Salem and Santaquin. The group then assembled at the local high school campus to witness the stunts of T.T. Maroney in his airplane. Sports activities, including a baseball game between teams from Payson and Spanish Fork, continued until 6:00 P.M. The evening closed with wrestling matches, boxing events, and a street carnival, including band concerts, dances, and street shows.

On Saturday, the celebration moved to the Provo LDS Tabernacle, where music, prayer, and speeches were enjoyed. Among the speakers were LDS church leader and businessman Heber J. Grant, Provo businessman Jesse Knight, Salt Lake businessman W.C. Orem, and Judge A.G. Moore. In the afternoon, sports activities continued, including a baseball game between Payson and Eureka teams. The two-day celebration ended when the crowd threw confetti—the "celebration ending with a big 'hurrah!'"⁴

The Salt Lake and Utah Railroad (the brainchild of Walter C. Orem and commonly known as the Interurban, or Orem, Line) ran between Salt Lake City and Payson. Construction on the electric rail-

road began in Provo on 20 October 1912 at the corner of Fifth South and Academy (now University) Avenue. Construction from Salt Lake City began in 1913, those workers meeting crews from Provo some-time later. By mid-July 1915 work south from Provo to Springville was progressing rapidly. In January 1916 the work on the line extended as far as Spanish Fork, and, by March, the first train arrived in Salem. Finally, the tracks were extended to Payson for the special celebration. At the peak of its operation, twelve passenger trains and a freight train moved in and out of Payson each day. With the end of World War I, automobiles and trucks drastically began to impact the Orem Line's business. Finally, in 1946, the last runs of the "Big Red Cars" were made on the Orem Line.

The Strawberry Valley Project, the other focus of the celebration in Payson, was a significant federal government project. By the turn of the century, Utah County had utilized all the available water from the natural flow of streams and rivers running through the county. Southern Utah Valley farmers were dependent upon the Spanish Fork River for their irrigation needs during the latter half of the nineteenth century; however, this water source was unreliable, as its flow depended upon the seasonal snowmelt. Albert Swenson, a southern county farmer, recalled: "Before the Strawberry [Valley Project] was finished, we used to get one crop of alfalfa and that was it. During a dry year we just burned-up."⁵

To solve this problem and to increase agricultural land, some Utah County residents, including State Senator Henry Gardner of Spanish Fork, envisioned a project that would import water to Utah Valley from the Colorado River Basin. The proposed project required diverting water from the normally eastern-flowing Strawberry River across the Wasatch Mountains to the western-flowing Spanish Fork River. National pressure on the federal government to support western reclamation projects culminated with the passage of the National Reclamation Act of 1902—sponsored by Nevada Congressman Francis Newlands. Later, the federal government promised to provide the technical resources to build the Strawberry Valley Project; in return, local residents promised to pay the costs.

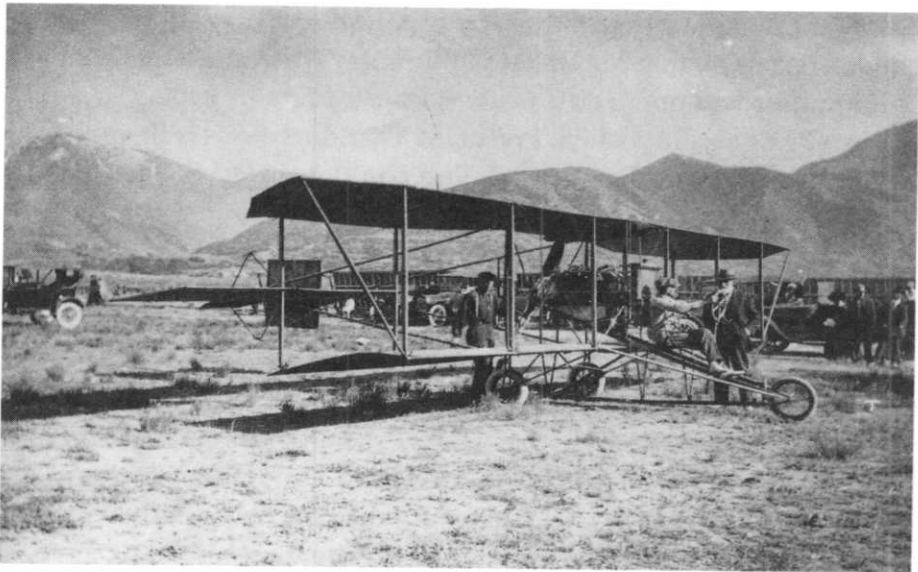
If the project was to be feasible, land was needed for a massive reservoir in Strawberry Valley. U.S. Senators (and county residents)

Reed Smoot and George Sutherland successfully lobbied the government to set aside this land from public entry when the Uintah Indian Reservation was opened to white homesteaders in 1905. Once this removal was accomplished, President Theodore Roosevelt approved the project in 1905. Controversy and conflict surfaced when a 1910 congressional act gave the water users in Utah County the right to control the destiny of the surrounding lands of the reservoir, which had been used by ranchers of Wasatch County for several decades. Wasatch County livestock people, who had leased the land from the Ute Indians, felt that relinquishing control of the land to Utah Valley interests would adversely hurt the profitability of their operations.

A conflict between the Strawberry Water Users Association and Wasatch County livestock people continued to dominate discussions, which ended in 1919 in an agreement not to the liking of the Wasatch County parties. Without further redress avenues, they had to accept a sublease from the water users. By 1926 the sublease expired, leaving the Wasatch livestock group without the ability to lease the grazing lands. The water users had won, and the people of Wasatch County felt that the water essentially had been stolen from them.

On 13 September 1913 the first water from the Strawberry Reservoir was released into the Spanish Fork River through a 20,000-foot concrete-lined tunnel. From the west portal of the tunnel, the reservoir water flowed down natural channels to the Spanish Fork River, where the water was diverted into the main irrigation and power canal by means of a reinforced concrete diversion dam seventy feet long. From that point, the water was carried in the Main Power and Irrigation Canal a distance of a little more than three miles to a hydroelectric power plant.

Two separate canals, the High Line and the Mapleton, eventually brought Strawberry water to a large area in southern Utah County. The eighteen-mile-long High Line Canal, which extended southwesterly from the powerhouse, passing Salem, Payson, Spring Lake, and Santaquin and then through Goshen Pass, furnished water to 17,000 acres of farmland near Payson, Salem, Santaquin, and Genola. The 6.8-mile-long Mapleton Canal served the Springville and Mapleton area. By 1918 the Strawberry Valley Project was basically completed. In the summer of 1919, more than 42,500 acres were irri-



County residents gathered in Payson to celebrate the completion of the Strawberry Irrigation Project and the Interurban Railroad. Among those participating was Lt. J.T. Maroney who flew his tricycle landing-gear, pusher biplane for spectators on 27 May 1916, captured in this photograph by George Edward Anderson. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

gated, with the water supplying about 2,000 farms. The final cost of the project was estimated at \$3.5 million.⁶

Water from the Uinta Basin not only promoted expanded farming in the southern end of the county, water also was the cause for the creation of the new community of Mapleton. For some time, farmers east of Springville had worked to obtain their own irrigation system and water rights from Spanish Fork Canyon. In 1900 they organized the Mapleton Canal, Road and Irrigation Company to divert water from Spanish Fork Canyon to their farms. Frustrated by the lack of support from the community of Springville, Mapleton farmers petitioned the county commission to allow them to establish their own community. In 1901 their petition was granted.

The Smith-Lever Act, passed by Congress in 1914, helped the county significantly by creating the Agricultural Extension Service, which employed and supervised a county agricultural agent. A.B. Ballantyne was appointed to the Utah County office on 1 July 1914.

His responsibility included the coordination of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons unable to attend the agricultural college in Logan. This important educational and agricultural program was funded by the federal and state governments, with supplemental resources for travel and office expenses supplied by the county.⁷

Utah County residents enjoyed access to men with power and influence at many governmental and business levels in the United States. The completion of the Strawberry Reclamation project was a manifestation of this. On the day U.S. President William Howard Taft visited the county, Senator Reed Smoot recorded in his diary in 1909: "Arrived at Provo 12:45 P.M. and found the streets filled with people. . . . [President's] party was soon in their automobiles on their way up Academy Ave while school children and people were shouting for the President." Students from BYU and local Utah County residents stood two deep on both sides of the street from the train depot to "temple hill," now the location of the Maeser Building at BYU on Provo's east bench.

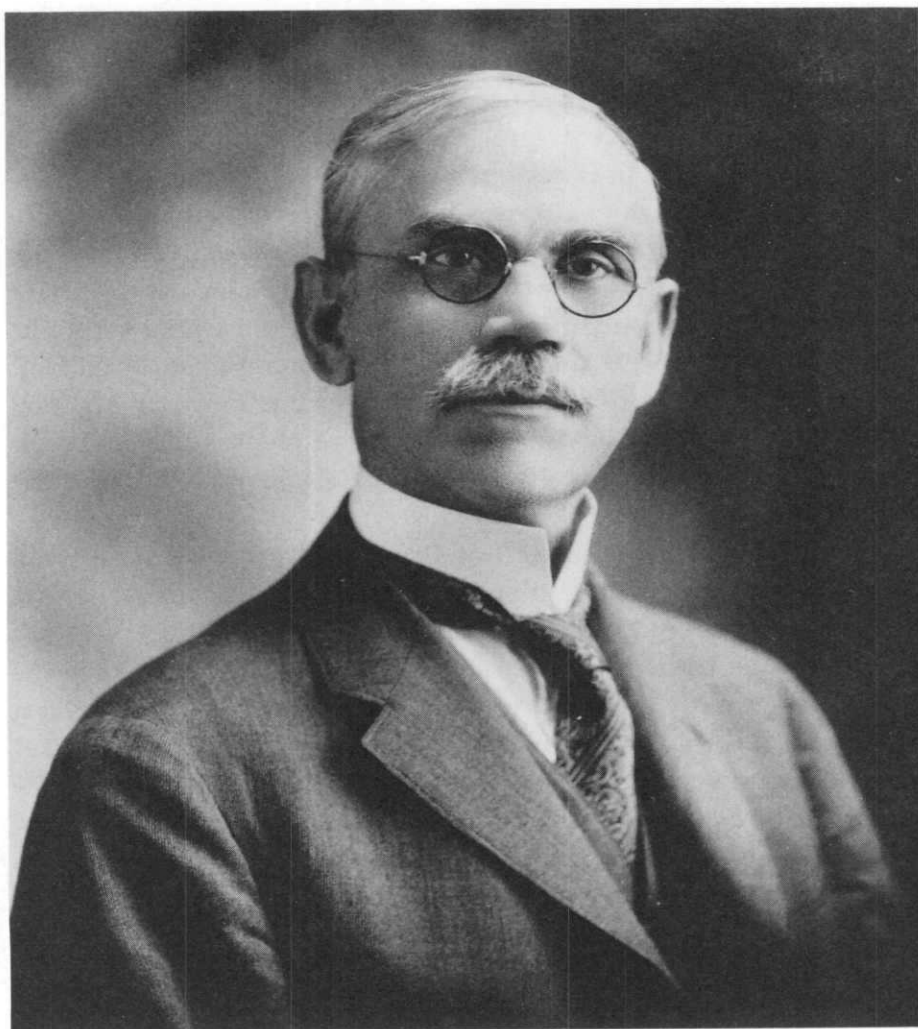
From this vantage point, the party viewed Utah Valley, which "certainly looked beautiful." Soon, the entourage made its way back to downtown Provo. Smoot continued: "We returned to the Tabernacle and found the building packed and thousands of people on the outside. On the entrance of the President the crowd shouted and waved handkerchiefs and it was a great sight." President Taft was delighted at the reception. After the meeting, the party boarded the train again. The president's train stopped a few minutes at American Fork and Lehi on its way to Salt Lake City.⁸

Smoot brought the president of the United States to Provo not only to show off his hometown but also to demonstrate to the citizens of Utah County the influence they had, through him, on a national level. The benefits of statehood were nowhere more evident than the effect that Smoot had helping local county residents and communities. Smoot had started his political career in Provo when he ran for mayor in 1891 against Democratic Warren N. Dusenberry, his former teacher and mentor at Brigham Young Academy. Smoot lost the election but continued to be politically active as he served the LDS church in Provo and later as an apostle.

In 1902 Smoot announced at a Provo Republican Club meeting that he intended to seek the U.S. senatorial office. As a Mormon apostle, there was concern regarding his political aspirations; even his boyhood friend and co-founder of the Republican Club in Provo, George Sutherland, came out against him. Smoot, however, was elected by the state legislature in January 1903. He was finally granted his seat in the U.S. Senate after a famous investigation that lasted until 1907. Thereafter, Smoot's political star rose, and, with him, the interests of Utah County were brought to the attention of the state, the nation, and the world. His diaries reveal the newfound influence Utah County experienced as two of its own (Sutherland was also from the county) served in Washington, D.C.⁹

Although the doors of power and influence opened wider for county residents in the national capital, residents still continued to look to their churches for help, solace, and strength. The local LDS church stake, which covered the entire county, was divided into three stakes—Alpine, Nebo, and Utah—in 1901. The old Utah Stake remained headquartered in Provo and included four Provo wards, Lake View and Pleasant View wards, four Springville wards, and Mapleton, Timpagnogos, Vineyard, and Pleasant Valley wards. The new Alpine Stake was headquartered in American Fork by 1920 and included four American Fork wards, five Lehi wards, three Pleasant Grove wards, Highland, two Lindon wards, Manila, Alpine, and Cedar Valley. The new Nebo Stake in Payson included four Spanish Fork wards, Salem, Benjamin, Lake Shore, Leland, two Payson wards, Santaquin, Goshen, and Knightsville. Tabernacles were built in Payson (started and dedicated in 1872) and in American Fork (started in 1909 and dedicated in 1915). In 1905 the Eureka, Mammoth, Robinson, and Silver City Wards from the Juab Stake were added to the Nebo Stake.¹⁰

The railroad, mining, and commercial growth brought increased diversity to the religious community of the county. In 1897 the First Church of Christ, Scientist, was established in Provo when four residents organized an informal society that was recognized by the Christian Science Mother Church in Boston the following year. On 29 November 1902 the group was officially incorporated according to state law. Members came from various parts of the region to Provo



Reed Smoot—LDS Church Apostle and United States Senator from Utah.
(LDS Church Archives)

each week to attend services. Medora Pierson traveled by train from American Fork to serve as the First Reader in the church.

Reverend George Townsend, the first full-time Episcopal priest in the county, arrived in 1904.¹¹ Even though an Episcopalian mission had been established in the county in 1892, the organization was still a rather loosely gathered congregation without a building of its own. Within three years, however, St. Mary's Church was built in Provo,

with some of the funding coming from the women's guild of the church. The building was consecrated by the Right Reverend Franklin Spencer Spaulding, Episcopal Bishop of Utah, on 12 September 1907. Townsend also founded St. James Mission in Springville and served a third congregation in Eureka.

Reverend Townsend also was instrumental in helping organize the Provo public library. A graduate of Oxford University in England, he was interested in promoting both education and athletics. He worked with BYU in organizing track meets at the school before he left the county in 1909. Another priest, Reverend William F. Bulkley, was also active in the community. He was a prime mover in organizing the Provo Rotary Club in 1919 and, as a result, was chosen its first president. He was also active in the local Masonic lodge and the American Red Cross.

Some religious organizations struggled to survive as shifts in population occurred and as younger generations lost interest in the faith of their parents and grandparents. Missionary efforts in Utah County by the United Presbyterian Church of America began in the 1870s, eventually leading to the establishment of the First Presbyterian Church in Springville on 14 March 1880 and of a like-named church in Benjamin on 20 May 1894.¹² Organized through the efforts of three families (the Hones, Peays, and Herberts) who had become alienated from the LDS church, the small congregation in Benjamin declined at the turn of the century as second- and third-generation family members lost interest, moved away, or converted to the LDS church. On 22 October 1916 the session records of the Payson Presbyterian Church noted: "Transferred the following names from the Benjamin Presby Church to the Presb. Church of Payson."¹³ The small Mormon farming community of Benjamin, which had earlier benefited from the Presbyterian day school, now supported only one church (LDS) for local residents.

Though America was not yet at war, many citizens supported the British in the conflict in Europe that quickly consumed precious resources, including a whole generation of young men. America was rapidly becoming more involved in World War I. The *Provo Post* announced in October 1914, for example, "Miss Lula Nielson a 'Mormon' and a former student at Brigham Young University, is leav-

ing this week to join the Red Cross nurses in the European War.”¹⁴ By August 1915 the Utah National Guard recruited local young men to join. “Provo may organize cavalry or infantry Co.” reported a local paper. Brigham Young University coach E.L. Roberts stated: “We want more patriotism and rigor to back it up in our American Youth.” International intrigue also made the headlines in the county when Raymond Nelson of Provo was “arrested in Sweden as a ‘Russian spy.’” Nelson, a LDS church missionary, was eventually released, but his arrest revealed the impact of hostilities on some county residents who were living temporarily in Europe. As war continued in Europe, residents closely watched the events there.¹⁵

Some Utah County residents were concerned with the rise of militarism, however. The *Provo Herald* called for “Self-Discipline, not Militarism.” The editor’s concern was that breeding “militarism” would ultimately lead to “evil results.” The following year, 1916, the paper announced that a full-time army recruiting office was about to be established in Utah County, officials claiming that “the outlook for promotions in the army are exceptionally good at this time.”¹⁶

In April 1916 D.W. Griffith’s silent movie *Birth of a Nation* took Utah County “by storm.” In two days, nearly 1,500 people saw the production during five showings in Provo. “People from all parts of the county” came to see the show, “which so vividly portrayed the horrors of warfare.” Residents continued to discuss, debate, and learn about the conflict that seemed to be coming ever closer to their door. Beginning on 16 May 1916 the *Provo Post* started a series entitled “Europe’s Battle Front Lesson.”¹⁷

In 1916, just prior to America’s entry into World War I, President Woodrow Wilson called for Utah’s 642-man National Guard to serve on the Mexican border under the command of General John J. Pershing. Civil unrest in Mexico and guerrilla raids into United States territory led the president to mobilize troops to guard the border. Thus, a national call began a movement of activity in the county. Apparently not every town was willing to support the effort, however. When Captain Wesley King, a military recruiter, was unable to find young men willing to join on 27 June, he reportedly “threatened to come back and obtain ten troopers by conscription if the local officials did not get this number of volunteers.”¹⁸

In June 1916 the headline in a local paper stated: "Utah Troops are ready for the front. War Clouds continue to gather."¹⁹ Within three days, Utah County residents began to respond to the call of military duty. The *Provo Post* reported: "James Clove Jr. shouted: 'Sign me first,' last night as his father, Postmaster James Clove concluded a stirring address to the great mass meeting of Provo citizens assembled on the park south of the post office."²⁰ Quotas for county towns were established: Provo, twenty-five; Springville, Spanish Fork, Payson, Lehi, and American Fork, ten each; Salem, Santaquin, and Pleasant Grove, five each. Provo businessman Jesse Knight offered to contribute the old opera house as a permanent "armory." In the midst of these activities, county citizens voted in the national election in November 1916. Woodrow Wilson's campaign slogan, "He kept us out of war," resounded throughout the nation and the county, giving the incumbent candidate a huge majority in the county. County resident William H. King, a Democrat, beat fellow county resident George Sutherland for the U.S. Senate seat, and Democrat John Henry Mays defeated Republican Charles Randell Mabey in the House contest.

Attention turned to the Mexican border, as Utah County residents waited for news of the activities of their young men. On 31 January 1917, residents read: "Utah County troops skirmish on border."²¹ The conflict eventually was resolved and troops began to make their way home. On 5 March 1917, county citizens celebrated the return of Troop F from service on the Mexican border. On 15 March a special ball in their honor raised \$225 to help pay for work on the new armory.²²

World War I

Though the war in Europe was far away, county residents were mindful of the events overseas, especially of the activities of German U-boats, or submarines. On 9 February 1917 a Provo newspaper reported: "The war is getting right close to home especially the new submarine warfare being conducted by the Germans; for yesterday Calvin Ray [a fireman on ship] of this city had one of the close escapes of the day. The British steamer Turino sunk."²³

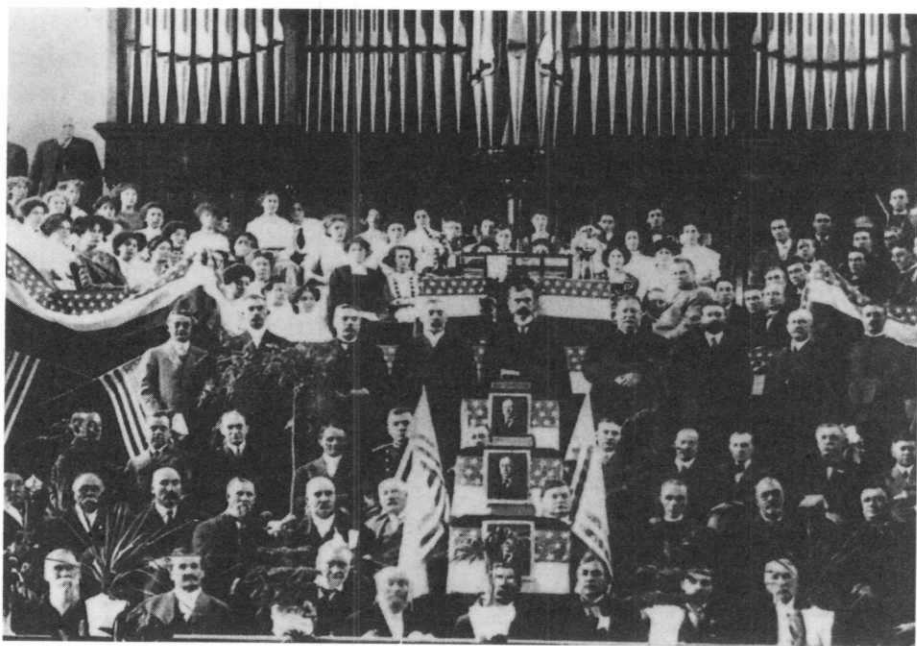
At about the same time, newspapers published an intercepted

telegram from German foreign minister Arthur Zimmermann proposing a German-Mexican alliance against the United States. Mexico's reward would be the recovery of territory it had lost in 1848 in the war with the United States, including all of Utah. This, added to the unrestricted submarine warfare, convinced many Utah residents, as well as the majority of Americans, that Germany was an enemy of the United States.

On 23 March, local papers carried the story of another German attack that resulted in the death of an American. On 2 April, President Wilson addressed Congress and asked for a declaration of war. As the nation waited for Congress to act, Brigham Young University held a special "patriotic service" on 3 April 1917, and an editorial published in the *Provo Post* the same day listed several reasons for war against Germany.²⁴ On 5 April the *Provo Herald* announced in bold headlines: "Senate Votes For War." On 6 April the paper announced the final step: "Uncle Sam goes to War. Congress votes to back the President." The board of directors of the Utah County Farm Bureau met on 10 April to support the federal government's call to increase "food production and food conservation." On 5 June the nation, including the residents of Utah County, observed a special holiday, "Registration Day." Throughout the county, young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one registered for service in the U.S. Army.²⁵

On 16 June 1917 the state received orders from the War Department to reorganize the Utah forces into a regiment of light artillery. As a result, an additional 500 new recruits were needed to bring the guard to war strength. Troop F at Provo was made part of Battery F. The Utah National Guard soldiers participated in a parade through Lehi on 24 July on their way back from their training site at the Jordan Narrows. Soon thereafter, Adjutant General W.G. Williams issued mobilization orders, stating that the National Guard of Utah was drafted into federal service and directing the men to await orders regarding their movement to a training site.

Training continued at local armories, including the one at Provo, until 14 August when the men moved to Fort Douglas. On 10 October 1917, the day of departure for California, the Utah regiment broke camp and marched to the City and County Building in Salt



U.S. President William Howard Taft between Senator Reed Smoot, standing at the pulpit, and Justice George Sutherland, on the right, in the Provo Tabernacle on 24 September 1909. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

Lake City, where a farewell supper was served courtesy of the local Red Cross chapter. The men visited with relatives and friends until 9:00 P.M., at which time the regiment was reassembled and marched to the train depot. Other Utah County residents, young men more recently drafted, departed for military training in Washington on 20 September 1917.

In 1914 the president had designated 18,700 acres near the Jordan River Narrows northwest of Lehi as a “permanent maneuver grounds” for the National Guard.²⁶ Additional land was purchased for a containment area. Although the camp (present-day Camp Williams) would not be built until the early 1920s, this government reserve was utilized as a training area for troops who participated in the armed conflicts of 1916–18.

Earl Okelberry recalled that several young men from Goshen and Elberta decided to volunteer rather than wait to be drafted. They had a particular reason for their decision, however, according to

Okelberry: “One of the boys [dated] the same girl I did. We decided if I went, he would get her and decided if he went I would get her. So we both went and both lost her.”²⁷ Robert Brown of American Fork was prepared to be drafted at the outbreak of the war but was rejected by the military because of a health condition. He wrote: “There was kind of a fear of the war. . . . When you are going out and facing a gun, there isn’t anybody that is very brave. . . . I know I was scared. It drove plenty of fear into me and I was tickled to death when they classified me way down.”²⁸

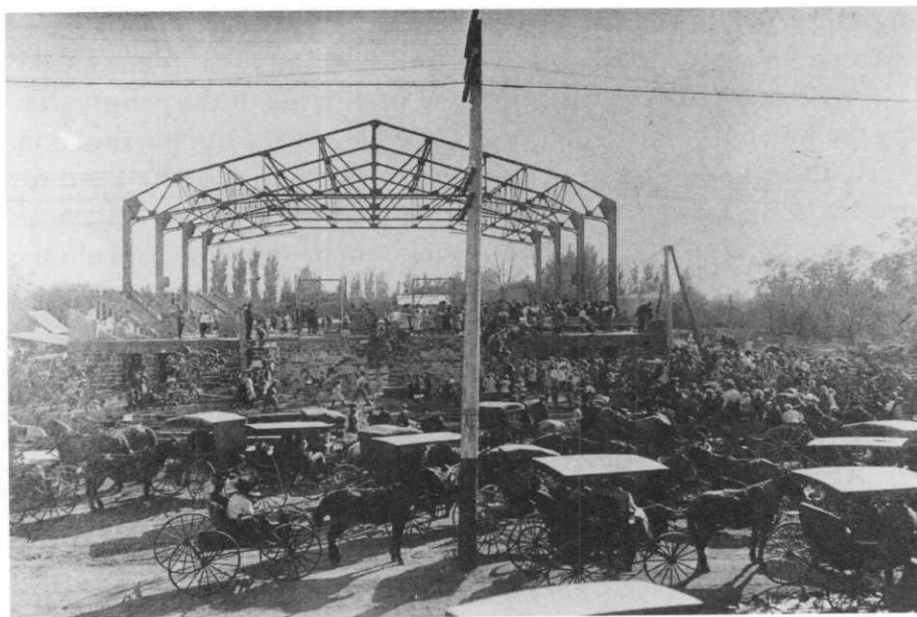
Brigham Young University President George Brimhall suggested that military classes be held in conjunction with regular academic classes at the school. With the support of Senator Reed Smoot, a unit of the Student Army Training Corps (analogous to the modern ROTC program) was established in 1917. President Wilson called upon every citizen in the United States to enlist in the “great civilian army without whose backing more fighting would be useless.”²⁹ County residents, like other Americans of the period, were anxious to respond wholeheartedly to the president’s call to arms. For the Latter-day Saints in the county, like those in the rest of the state, this occasion was an opportunity to prove their national loyalty, which had been questioned even after Utah obtained statehood in 1896.

Citizens throughout the county contributed in numerous ways, including small acts, such as when the people in Lehi flew a fifty-foot flag continuously atop a liberty pole. Alpine women, when asked to subscribe to the Liberty Bond loan campaign, which helped the government finance the war, “gladly gave of their mite and within a few hours the amount of \$50.00 was raised.”³⁰ At the end of the war, Payson residents learned the results of their combined contributions: they had “over-subscribed” to the first Liberty Loan drive; they raised the \$350 asked for to the War Emergency Fund; they raised \$640 (\$140 more than asked) for the Soldier’s Welfare Fund; they over-subscribed to the second Liberty Loan drive; when asked for 600 Red Cross Christmas drive members, 1,800 signed up; they over-subscribed by \$2,000 (\$48,000 total) for the third Liberty Loan drive; and they subscribed \$325 more than the \$1,000 requested by the Red Cross.³¹ Collectively, these local efforts to support the war effort made a large impact.

Residents also supported U.S. Food Administrator Herbert Hoover's campaign for "wheatless Mondays" and "meatless Tuesdays." Many Mormon women in Utah County were involved in "Hoover luncheons" and received government recipes through the LDS Relief Society. They passed the recipes on to other women in an effort to support the nation. Becoming part of the great "land army of the Republic," many women filled in for husbands, fathers, and brothers, continuing the agricultural work necessary to feed the nation and its soldiers. In Utah County, women volunteered for work in the beet fields and on fruit farms. Food storage was one of the main concerns, and women in the county also assisted in this endeavor. During one day in October 1917, Mormon women from Pleasant Grove, Manila, and Lindon put up 1,100 quarts of tomatoes, peaches, pears, and apricots to store in the Relief Society emergency stockpile.³²

Of all the items being stored in the county, wheat played an especially vital role in the war effort. United States wheat was needed not only to feed the troops in Europe but also to stave off famine of many starving people there. Following a request from the federal government, LDS Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley announced to the press that the government's request for "all the Relief Society wheat for use in the present war" was granted.³³ Grain storage was an enormously successful long-term Relief Society project for a number of years. By 1918 more than 200,000 bushels of wheat were stored by LDS women throughout the state. County women responded faithfully to the request; Relief Society women in Springville and Mapleton, for example, provided 6,700 bushels of wheat.³⁴

The International Red Cross, a humanitarian organization first established to care for victims of battle in time of war, was organized in the United States in 1882 as the American Association of the Red Cross. As the war in Europe increased in scope, the Red Cross began to play a significant role in Utah County, establishing a countywide chapter in May 1917 that included a wide group of community members. Elsie Bulkley, wife of the local Episcopal minister, was chosen secretary and treasurer of the chapter. Because the American Red Cross worked through societies already organized, the organization naturally made contact with the LDS Relief Societies in Utah.



Laying the cornerstone of the American Fork LDS Tabernacle in 1911. (Utah State Historical Society)

In March 1917 LDS church president Joseph F. Smith called Relief Society general secretary Amy Brown Lyman (born in Pleasant Grove) into his office to discuss the church's cooperative work with the Red Cross. The Mormon church had agreed to assume responsibility for looking after the welfare of LDS servicemen and their families soon after the onset of the war. This action had led Lyman and three other Relief Society women representing Red Cross chapters from the four most populous counties in Utah to seek out special training in the latest social work techniques at a special conference held by the Mountain Division of the Red Cross in Denver. The county was represented by Annie D. Palmer of Provo.

Other women joined with Mormon Relief Society members in the effort to move the work of the Red Cross ahead in the county. The headquarters for Red Cross work in Payson was the local Presbyterian church, where church women, together with members of the LDS church, gathered to roll bandages and make surgical

dressings. These women also made hospital garments and knitted sweaters and socks to be sent to soldiers in training or in Europe.³⁵

Making sacrifices was an integral part of life in the county during the war, but some in the county also benefited from the situation. Agricultural and ranching enterprises prospered as the need for products in America and Europe increased prior to America's entrance into the war and then throughout its duration. In Lehi the demand for sugar resulted in extensive expansion and improvement at the sugar factory. Stock prices increased from five dollars per share in the 1890s to twenty dollars per share by 1916. Local farmers also benefited as prices for their sugar beets rose from \$5.50 per ton in 1916 to more than \$12.00 a ton in 1920.

As the winds of war died down, county residents struggled with several devastating blows to the economy and public health, despite the successful conclusion of the conflict. The demand for woolen goods increased during the war, making the woolen mills in Provo profitable once again. Then, on 30 June 1918, the mills burned down: "The most terrible fire Provo has ever experienced," wrote Will Jones. He added: "Provo will sure miss these old Mills as well as the pay roll they produced. [It] is hoped by all that Uncle Jesse Knight who is owner of them will rebuild same."³⁶

Utah greeted the news of the war's end with great celebration. At 11:00 A.M. on 11 November 1918—the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month—the guns in Europe fell silent. Will Jones noted in his diary that day: "The great World War ends. Glory to God in the highest and on Earth Peace. The Germans brought to knees now beg for peace." Jones added: "The Bells ring and every whistle in factory and engine in Provo are turned on full force, the firing of guns and every conceivable noise making appliance was brought into play. I never heard such a noise in all my life."³⁷

County resident Robert Brown remembered the day the armistice was announced: "The old Inter-urban was run with gasoline and us guys got on the Inter-urban and went to Salt Lake. [People] were dancing in the streets and everybody was smiling and happy. They were singing and shouting and celebrating. . . . They were so happy they didn't know what they were doing."³⁸

Some of county's young men serving in Battery F returned home

in January 1919. "A great crowd greets them at the Orem station," one man wrote.³⁹ Another soldier, George S. Ballif, recalled: "When I got back [to Utah County] in the spring of 1919, the boys were just coming back."⁴⁰ Earl Okelberry returned to Goshen from Europe in May 1919. Within a year, he married, and the young couple had their first child in 1921.⁴¹

Many county veterans joined the recently-established American Legion, an organization of U.S. war veterans founded in Paris in March 1919. Local posts spread rapidly throughout the county. More than a hundred were organized in Utah by December 1919, including several in Utah County; for example, American Legion Post No. 12 was organized in Springville on 26 July 1919. A nonpolitical and nonsectarian organization, the American Legion's membership requirement was honorable service and an honorable discharge. The organization was instrumental in the establishment of hospitals and other services for World War I veterans.

State officials planned to help provide jobs for returning veterans by proposing a "cement road" in the northern part of Utah in the summer of 1919. "Utah County, according to the schedule, is to get thirty-five and two-tenths miles, which will give us a paved road from the point of the mountain on the north to Payson on the south," the *Provo Post* reported several days after the armistice.⁴² Brigham Young University offered returning military personnel free tuition. Everyone seemed to be working together to welcome the soldiers and sailors back home.

Not all the county residents returned from the war, however. During the conflict, deaths of local soldiers were regularly reported in county newspapers. Joy V. Jones, "one of Provo's popular young boys, who gave his life doing his 'bit' in the great struggle, was buried in the city cemetery, yesterday with proper military honors," the *Provo Post* reported in November 1918.⁴³ Reverend Ludwig Thomsen of the Congregational Church delivered the sermon at the grave. The traditional volley of shots and taps finished the service, which bid good-bye to a local hero. Jones was one of more than thirty county residents who died in war service.

At a homecoming celebration in 1919, mourning Provo citizens planted seventeen trees in the new Memorial Park on East Center

Street in honor of the seventeen fallen soldiers from the county seat, including one for Joy V. Jones. In May 1920 the War Mothers of Springville and Mapleton planted seven Norway maple trees in a circle on the north side of the city park in memory of the five Springville and two Mapleton soldiers who died in military service. Later, Cyrus E. Dallin provided the city with the Soldiers Memorial Victory Monument to honor the young men. It was unveiled on 4 July 1924 in the Springville City Park.

At the other end of the county, the Lehi City Council approved the construction of a "Sailors' and Soldiers' Memorial" building honoring the eleven residents killed. This Spanish mission style center was the first municipal building in the United States erected in memory of World War I veterans. Interestingly, of the eleven Lehi soldiers killed, only two died from wounds received in action; four died from accidents before going overseas, and five died from influenza. Of the sixteen BYU students who lost their lives in the war, six died as a result of the deadly flu virus. The only Alpine casualty in the war, Richard Hackett, died as a result of exposure to the influenza virus just after he entered Germany following the conclusion of hostilities.⁴⁴ Robert Brown, in recalling the armistice celebration also remembered: "Everybody was having a big time. I think that everything was banned during that time on account of the flu, but we broke the [quarantine] and got on the Inter-urban and went anyway."⁴⁵

In fact, approximately half the soldiers who died in Europe did so as a result of the dreaded influenza virus.⁴⁶ Many soldiers who survived the terrible ordeals of combat in the trenches and the influenza epidemic in Europe returned to find the same enemy stalking the living at home, spreading death throughout the United States. The result was a devastating blow in the face of military victory for hundreds of county residents.

The Influenza Epidemic of 1918–19

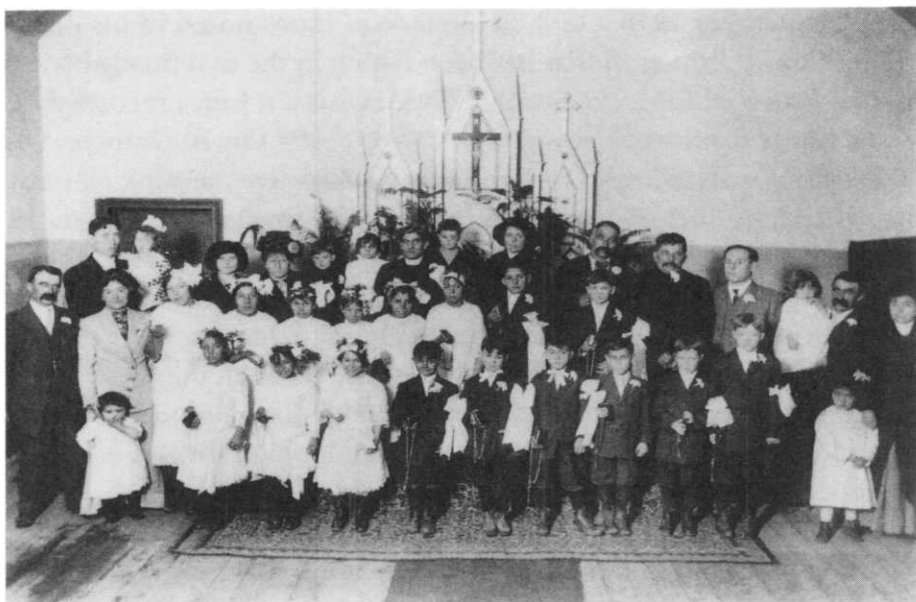
As much as one-fifth of the world's population suffered the effects of influenza during 1918–19, and more than 21 million people died in just four months. Approximately 675,000 Americans died in the space of one year, more than ten times as many as were killed during World War I. The first cases of flu in the county were detected

in early October 1918. On 4 October, Will Jones noted in his diary, “The Spanish Influenza that has been raging in the east finally breaks out in Provo in the Luke family.” Five days later, Jones recorded: “I came home from work at noon sick with Flu.”⁴⁷ On 10 October, Dr. T.B. Beatty, a state health officer, issued a directive banning all public gatherings, including church services and theater performances. School districts throughout the county closed their doors soon thereafter, and schools remained closed until early in January or February 1919. Brigham Young University also closed its doors. “The date of the reopening [of] school will be announced through the press,” BYU officials announced on 22 November 1918.⁴⁸ Even some businesses closed voluntarily. The *Lehi Sun* ceased publication for two weeks in October 1918.

A Provo physician, W.T. Hasler, pled with city residents on 18 October 1918 to remain home: “People must adopt more stringent stay-at-home rules. . . . Many cases have been spread through the city because those afflicted with very light cases have spread the germs of the dread disease among those with whom they have been associated.” On 29 October, the *Provo Post* announced: “Mother and daughter buried on same day; both influenza victims.” The same issue announced a quarantine in Provo: “The city commission announced today that all persons quarantined with Spanish influenza must remain indoors and at home for ten days after being quarantined. . . . There have been 39 new cases reported in the last 24 hours.” Eight of these cases were in one home, the family of Del Webb. On 1 November forty new cases were reported in Provo alone.⁴⁹

Because no medication for influenza existed at the time, the treatment for people who came down with the dreaded virus was to put them to bed, keep them warm with blankets and quilts, and provide large amounts of liquids. Windows were usually kept open to provide fresh air. Although Utah banned liquor on 1 August 1917, most doctors and nurses administered “spirits”—the polite name for brandy or whiskey—to help the patients.

Vern L. Whiting, born on 7 August 1900 in Hobble Creek Canyon, recalled in 1995: “I was eighteen years old, and I had my papers ready to go into the army when I got sick. We all wore white



First Holy Communion Class at St. Peter's Catholic Church in Provo on 22 February 1914. This photograph reveals not only the religious pluralism in the county, but also the ethnic diversity with family names such as Carter, Rita, Vacher, Holding, Towner, Amocone, Boardman, Adams, Gendron, Urroz, and Westwood. (Wilson Thomas)

masks in Springville, but it didn't help." Whiting vividly described his experience:

Oh boy it was rough. The sickest I have ever been. I had a cousin the same age and he died from it. I was pretty scared. I lived with my sister [Mary Whiting Waters], since my mother died when I was three. [She] took care of me. I was sick for about five weeks. I stayed in bed and didn't want to visit anyone. Dr. Fred Dunn came to check on me from time to time, but there wasn't much he could do.

Whiting particularly remembered one night during his struggle to overcome the virus when the family thought he had died. His father came into the room and asked if they should remove the body or wait till morning. They decided to wait and then, to everyone's surprise, Whiting opened his eyes. He said later, "I know no one will believe me, but I was dead—I could see everyone in the room and

heard their conversation, but I came back when they started talking about taking my body out!”⁵⁰

Newspapers from the period indicate a preoccupation with the deadly pestilence and also with the news from Europe as the war was coming to a close. On Monday, 11 November 1918, with the armistice, many people celebrated in public settings despite the ban on public gatherings. The outcome of the public celebrations was predictable—another outbreak of influenza erupted in most of Utah’s largest cities. One Utah County family suffered greatly from the second outbreak; Lena Thurgood died a few days after her husband, and a newspaper reported: “The two children 4 and 6 years of age are both ill.” Additionally, the report continued: “At 4:45 this morning William J. Thurgood, the father of the late William Stanley Thurgood, died of the ‘flu’ leaving a wife, four daughters and three sons.” A double funeral was planned on 17 November. Five days after the funeral, nineteen-year-old Arthur Thurgood died, adding another victim from the same family in Utah County.⁵¹

As a result of the increase in reported cases, state health officials vigorously insisted on compliance with regulations and added more restrictions to help control the situation. Streetcars were forced to limit the number of riders, business hours were shortened, and no special sales were to be held. Funeral services were limited to thirty minutes, and later were reduced to fifteen minutes. Patients were required to remain in their homes for ten days following their recovery. Most residents supported the measures, as fear among the population increased. City mayors in the county warned residents against congregating in extended family gatherings for Thanksgiving, as that was “strictly contrary to law.”⁵²

Following Thanksgiving, an editorial in the *Provo Post* criticized Salt Lake County residents for their laxity in following health guidelines. According to reports, “Thanksgiving visitors from that city brought cases of the disease to [Provo] with them.” “There is only one way,” the editorial declared, “to stop the continued exposure of Utah county people from Salt Lake and that is to quarantine the county and keep all of the people out until we have the disease completely stamped out.” On 10 December the *Provo Post* announced in bold headlines: “Utah County Goes into Quarantine.” Mayors from Provo,



Protestant growth in the county during the first two decades of the Twentieth Century manifested itself in many ways, including the “Get Right With God” evangelizing efforts throughout the region. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

Spanish Fork, Payson, Pleasant Grove, American Fork, and Springville and the chairman of the Utah County Commission met with county health officials the day before to plan their actions to prevent further exposure from Salt Lake County residents. The same issue reported the “arrest of people refusing to wear masks” in the county while in public. One woman threatened a hunger protest; however, her husband arrived and paid the fine, thus helping the police to avoid “the first hunger strike in the history of the city.”⁵³

By 17 December 1918, local city and county officials began to lift some of the restrictions imposed earlier, but masks were still required. Brigham Young University announced that it would resume classes, and some theaters also announced the resumption of business. By 4 February the county had lifted even the mask requirement. The epidemic diminished in the spring of 1919, and virtually no new cases occurred during the summer. Several new cases were reported in the fall; however, by the spring of 1920, the epidemic was over. The experience in Utah County was quite representative of that of the state. In Springville, nearly two-thirds of the citizens endured the

fever and aches of influenza during 1918–19. Many Utah County residents lost parents, brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles, and aunts; some, like Vern Whiting, just barely survived.

In the midst of the influenza epidemic, the settlers on Provo Bench, located between Provo and Pleasant Grove, petitioned the county commission for a town charter in 1919. It was granted on 5 May and sealed in Utah County Fourth District Court on 7 July 1919. The new community did not follow the traditional Mormon plan of development, as no group had been formally sent to the area to establish a new colony. Groups from both Provo and Pleasant Grove had started to homestead land along the main road between the cities, and, under homestead laws, were required to live on the land for six months of the year to retain their claim. In 1877 Thomas Cordner established the first year-round residence in the area. The emerging village had a long and narrow formation.⁵⁴ Farm homes faced the highway and the farmland stretched out behind them in a rectangular fashion. Most residents initially retained their ties to either Provo or Pleasant Grove, but eventually they sought their own churches and schools. The establishment of the new community brought together two church/school centers some two miles apart, with the express purpose of consolidating the water resources for irrigation purposes. The new municipality was named Orem in honor of Walter Orem, and development followed the narrow pattern, as new residences and business continued to locate along the highway.⁵⁵

The conclusion of the decade found many changes had occurred in the county. Individual, family, community, and national sacrifices, tragedies, gains, and victories were a part of the period, from which Utah County emerged to enter the Roaring Twenties, also known as the “Age of Jazz.”

ENDNOTES

1. Ruth Leila Kempe, Diary, 16 February 1901, in private possession, courtesy of Ruth Dewitt Wake, Springville, Utah.

2. Summary based on “Alma Richards Was Utah’s First Olympic Gold Medalist,” in *The History Blazer* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1995).

3. Summary based on "Clint Larson Held the Collegiate High Jump Record for 17 Years," in *The History Blazer*.

4. Summary based on "Official Program for Celebration at Payson May 26–27, 1916: Commemorating Completion of Strawberry Irrigation Project and Interurban Railroad" (n.d.), BYU Archives.

5. Albert Swenson, interview, (n.d.), copy in possession of author.

6. In December 1974 the last payment to the government was made—repaying all the costs of the project (without interest).

7. *Inventory of the County Archives of Utah No. 25, Utah County*, 288.

8. Reed Smoot, Diary, 24 September 1909, BYU Archives. See also Harvard Heath, ed., *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996).

9. Smoot served in the U.S. Senate from 1902 until 1932; Sutherland served in the U.S. Congress from 1900 to 1903 and in the U.S. Senate from 1905 to 1916.

10. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 14–15, 564, 907–8.

11. Summary based on David H. Sheets, "St. Mary's Episcopal Church," unpublished manuscript, in author's possession.

12. Summary based on Lee A. Butler, "The Benjamin Presbyterian Church, 1886–1916," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (Summer 1983): 259–71.

13. "Session Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Payson, Utah," 22 October 1916, Utah State Historical Society, as cited in Butler, "The Benjamin Church," 269.

14. *Provo Post*, 23 October 1914.

15. *Provo Post*, 27 August, 17 September 1915.

16. *Provo Post*, 15 October 1915, 28 March 1916.

17. *Provo Post*, 4 April, 16 May 1916.

18. Summary based on Richard C. Roberts, "The Utah National Guard on the Mexican Border in 1916," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Winter 1985): 262–81; *American Fork Citizen*, 1 July 1916.

19. *Provo Post*, 20 June 1916.

20. *Provo Post*, 23 June 1916.

21. *Provo Post*, 21 January 1917.

22. *Provo Post*, 16 March 1917.

23. *Provo Post*, 9 February 1917.

24. *Provo Post*, 3 April 1917.

25. *Provo Herald*, 5 April, 6 April, 10 April, 5 June 1917.

26. See Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's First

Line of Defense: The Utah National Guard and Camp W.G. Williams: 1926–1965,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Spring 1965): 141–56.

27. Earl Okelberry, interview with Jessie L. Embry, 6 November 1979, BYU Archives.

28. Robert Milton Brown, interview with Jerry Lee, 31 July 1973, BYU Archives.

29. As cited in Noble Warrum, *Utah in the World War* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Council of Defense, 1924), 84.

30. Relief Society Minutes, Alpine Ward, Alpine Stake, 25 October 1917, Archive Division, Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

31. *The Paysonian*, 12 September 1918.

32. “Notes from the Field,” *Relief Society Magazine* 5 (January 1918): 27.

33. *Deseret News*, 20 May 1918.

34. As cited in Mary J. Chase Finley, *A History of Springville* (Springville: Art City Publishing Co., 1988), 91.

35. See Madoline Cloward Dixon, *Peteetneet Town: A History of Payson, Utah* (Provo: Press Publishing, 1974), 43.

36. Albert William Jones, Journal, 30 July 1918, BYU Archives.

37. *Ibid.*, 11 November 1918.

38. Brown, interview.

39. Jones, Journal, January 1919.

40. George S. Ballif, interview with Kay Alta Haynes, 18 February 1974, BYU Archives.

41. Okelberry, interview.

42. *Provo Post*, 22 November 1918.

43. *Provo Post*, 1 November 1918.

44. See Jennie Adams Wild, *Alpine Yesterdays: A History of Alpine, Utah County, Utah: 1850–1980* (Salt Lake City: Blaine Hudson Printing, 1982), 145.

45. Brown, interview.

46. Summary based on Leonard J. Arrington, “The Influenza Epidemic of 1918–19 in Utah,” *Utah State Historical Quarterly* 58 (Spring 1990): 165–82.

47. Jones, Journal, 4 October, 9 October 1918.

48. *Provo Post*, 22 November 1918.

49. *Provo Post*, 18 October, 29 October, 1 November 1918.

50. Vern LeRoy Whiting, interview with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 20 October 1995, Provo, Utah, copy in possession of the author.

51. *Provo Post*, 15 November 1918.

52. *Provo Post*, 24 November 1918.

53. *Provo Post*, 6 December, 10 December 1918.

54. This string-town system was often used in non-Mormon settlements in the United States after the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, which required actual settlement on the farm to acquire the land.

55. William G. Dyer, "Development of a Mormon Line Community," *Rural Sociology* 21 (1956): 181–82.

CHAPTER 9

THE AGE OF JAZZ, 1920–1929

America was changing from a rural to an urban nation at the turn of the twentieth century, and Utah was not far behind. By 1920, nearly half (48 percent) of the state's population was urban, and by the end of the decade the number stood at nearly 53 percent.¹ The construction and completion of the Utah County Courthouse (known locally as the City and County Building) epitomized the mood within the county. Next to Salt Lake County's City and County Building, the edifice is perhaps the most elaborate and refined of Utah's courthouses. The neoclassic building's exterior is of white oolite from Sanpete County, with a raised foundation of granite. A statue of Justice is centered over the entrance, flanked by depictions of various arts and industries that reflect not only the history of the county but also the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of its residents. The interior of the building is ornate, with floors of Alaskan marble, staircase balustrades of pink marble, and lighting fixtures made of bronze. Utah County architect Joseph Nelson designed the building after taking a west coast tour with city officials to get ideas from civic buildings there. Construction started in 1920 and was completed in

1926. Although symbolic of the changes within the county, the building in Provo also stood as a memorial to the tremendous sacrifices of the past.

The change from a rural to an urban society was both physical and emotional. Rapid urbanization and greater mobility had a profound impact on a large segment of the county's population—economically, politically, and socially. During the so-called "Age of Jazz" of the 1920s, the county's cities (American Fork, Payson, Provo, Spanish Fork, and Springville) had a major impact on social, cultural, and behavioral practices throughout the county.

County population grew from 37,942 in 1910 to 40,792 in 1920. By 1930 it stood at 49,021. From 1910 to 1920, several county communities decreased in size, however, demonstrating a move to large urban areas in the county and, in many cases, an out-migration beyond the political boundaries of the county and state. Alpine decreased in population from 585 to 470; Benjamin from 580 to 575; Cedar Fort from 236 to 178; Clinton from 134 to 50; Colton from 194 to 49; Fairfield from 279 to 95; Lake Shore from 528 to 457; Lehi from 3,344 to 3,078; Pleasant View from 987 to 746; Salem from 693 to 609; and Springville from 3,356 to 3,010.²

During the 1920s, Alpine reversed the downward trend, reaching 509 inhabitants by the end of the decade, although this was still below the 1910 population figure. Benjamin inched back towards its 1900 level of 661 with a population of 619. Cedar Fort decreased by one and stood at 177. The new community of Elberta slipped from 300 in 1920 to 278 in 1930. Fairfield made a slight resurgence to 129 people, but was nowhere close to its 1910 level (279). Lake Shore grew slightly, reaching 482 residents, but still remained below its 1900 level of 582. Lehi continued to decline to 2,826 people. Payson grew only slightly—from 3,031 in 1920 to 3,045 in 1930, as did Salem, from 609 to 610. Spanish Fork lost inhabitants, going from 4,035 in 1920 to 3,727 in 1930. Spring Lake grew from 252 people to 300. Springville reversed its earlier decline, climbing to 3,748 people by 1930. Thistle moved from a population of 417 in 1920 to 288 in 1930; Vineyard declined from 560 to 543. The other communities in the county rose in population—especially Provo, which increased from 10,303 people to 14,766. The urban areas of the county reflected, to a

great extent, the uniqueness of the 1920s. Although the county was in an isolated region separated from the great cities of the nation, it shared in many of the country's social experiences.

One of the early visible negative images of the 1920s was the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan, which reportedly had more than three million members across the county. The *American Fork Citizen* announced in 1925, "Ku Klux Klan Holds First Meeting Here," and a membership drive in the county gained some adherents.³ By the end of the decade, however, the Klan had become virtually invisible, ceasing to function as a viable group. What caused some residents to associate with the organization is difficult to determine. With few recent immigrants or religious minorities, the county remained largely a homogenous community of Anglo-European Mormons, although some no doubt harbored bigoted attitudes and prejudice against the few minority groups in the region.

The 1920s was a period of social experimentation, especially among the youth of Utah County and particularly among those living in the larger communities of the county. The 1920s are remembered today for the bathing beauties, sports spectacles, bootleg gin, flappers, and all-night college parties. While most of the county's residents did not participate extensively in the larger popular culture that so characterized the "Roaring Twenties," county residents shared much in common with those in other regions of the country during this period of social change.

Part of the social experimentation of the period is revealed in the popular culture. The county had jazz music at local dance halls, where couples danced close together and some of them drank alcoholic beverages. While most movies were socially accepted by the majority of the community, some less-reputable movies also could be found in theaters throughout the county. Other activities included all-night parties in private homes, bathing beauty contests, sports, and listening to popular serials on the radio and reading others in the newspapers.

Music was always an important ingredient of the culture of Utah County. Formally, music was used in church services and in patriotic civic events. Informally, crowds gathered at the city park to hear local or visiting bands and musicians play or sing. The bandstand was a



Dedication Services of City and County Building on 15 December 1926 by George Edward Anderson. County residents gathered across the street from their recently completed neo-classical building in the Provo Tabernacle to celebrate its dedication. The speaker is Governor George H. Dern. (Utah State Historical Society)

symbol of a community's musical interests. A bandstand was built in the Springville City Park in 1920 to accommodate Sunday evening band concerts during the summer. The music reached across all age groups and seemed as natural as the grass the people sat upon. Yet music was making a dramatic shift in white Protestant America during this period; jazz music took the country by storm and came to the county in a flurry.

The Columbia Theater, located in Provo, advertised in November 1920: "Sprightly Jazz dance and musical act." The National Guard Armory in Provo advertised "Bowling's Chicago Syncopated Jazz Review" in December 1920. The popularity of jazz and the different social behavior often associated with this new music came to the attention of the county commission office in June 1921. A group of concerned citizens complained that immoral dancing, jazz music, and intoxication at a number of county resorts were having a harmful effect upon the young people of the county. In September 1921 a local deputy sheriff noted: "Young girls of 14 and 15 were dancing cheek-to-cheek, stopping frequently to kiss and embrace with men

and boys. Before the evening was over, they were biting each other on the neck. There was liquor floating around. . . . [B]ut liquor wasn't needed to intoxicate the girls and boys. The jazz music did that."⁴

Along with the craze for jazz music, movie theaters in the county offered moviegoers current national shows, including the sound or "talkie" movies just two years after the first one was shown in New York City in 1926. The Gem Theater installed sound equipment so local residents could experience the talkies in 1928. In February 1929 the Gem also showed the first color movie, which was entitled *Lonesome*. Soon thereafter, another local theater, the Paramount, installed sound apparatus and showed *The Jazz Singer* with Al Jolson to capacity audiences. Passionate movies were also offered in the county: *Wild Orchids* with Greta Garbo played at the Paramount in April 1929; *The Woman from Hell*, with a very suggestive poster, ran at another Utah County theater in May 1929. Provo had four movie theaters by the end of the decade. Emil Ostlund built the 300-seat Rivoli Theater in Springville in 1927 and, within a year, a sound system was added to keep up with the developments throughout the industry.

The first Miss America was chosen in 1921, and, by the middle of the decade, bathing beauty contests were common in the county. In September 1925 the Columbia Theater in Provo hosted a beauty contest. In conjunction with "Boost Provo Week," another beauty contest was held on 24 June 1927. Yet another contest was held to choose a young woman to represent Utah County at the upcoming Utah State Fair to be held in Salt Lake City on 27 July 1928, where "Miss Utah" would be chosen. Bathing suits for the contestants were provided free of charge by the Kenkins Knit Company of Provo. During the summer of 1928 the Arrowhead Resort in Benjamin hosted a bathing-beauty contest. The winner was chosen by applause and received a thirty-five dollar prize as well as a free trip to Salt Lake City for a shopping spree. According to a local paper, a "big crowd" showed up for the event. The Edgewater Resort hosted a bathing beauty contest on the beach in the summer of 1929. One style of bathing suit offered for the contestants to wear was called "screamin' scanties." The county had beautiful women in bathing suits on stage for all to see, movie stars in nightgowns on the silver screen, wailing

saxophones blasting out jazz while couples embraced and drank bootleg liquor.⁵ Utah County was definitely participating in the social activities of the nation.

Radio also revolutionized communication in the county. Professor Carl F. Eyring of BYU demonstrated to the public free of charge how the wireless worked when the Radio Society was organized on 11 March 1920. Those attending listened to west coast broadcasts after Eyring's demonstration. Radio continued to grow in popularity, and, by the end of the decade, almost every home had one. Free delivery and easy-payment plans were offered potential buyers in the county. By 1926, daily listings of radio broadcasts from Portland and San Francisco were appearing in local newspapers. The offerings were mostly talk shows, farm news, and comedy programs, with "Amos 'n Andy" a daily favorite.⁶

While Professor Eyring continued to promote radio, a young student from Rigby, Idaho, began his high school career at Brigham Young High and then went on to BYU. In the basement labs of the Education Building on Academy Square, Philo T. Farnsworth began to develop the essential aspects of his television technology; but it would be a number of years before his invention would revolutionize the county and the world.⁷

In addition to being the age of jazz, movies, and radio, the 1920s also were remembered for sporting events. County residents, along with millions of other Americans, were fascinated by spectator sports. Jack Dempsey (who had lived in Utah County for a time, attended Lakeview Elementary School, and fought several early fights in the county) met Gene Tunney in Philadelphia for the world heavyweight boxing championship in 1926. Loudspeakers were installed at the Utah County Fair in Springville so fairgoers could listen to the fight. When the two boxers met again a year later, the *Provo Herald* set up a radio and installed loudspeakers in front of its office on 200 West Center Street and invited everyone interested in the fight to come and listen. More than 5,000 people showed up for the event. According to the paper, the fight attracted the largest crowd ever to come together in the county to hear a sporting event.⁸

Local sports also attracted a high degree of interest. The Central Baseball League was organized in 1920, and teams from surrounding

regions came to play in Provo's Timpanogos Park. The Springville High School boys basketball team won the Utah state championship in 1923, allowing the team to go to Chicago for a tournament. In August 1929 plans for a large athletic field in the heart of Lehi were announced jointly by the local Lions Club, Lehi City, and the Alpine School District. The project necessitated the closing of First North Street between Center and First West streets in Lehi. A city holiday was declared on 1 May 1930 when several old pioneer homes and the city jail were demolished to make room for the sports area.

Traditional recreation activities such as horseback riding, hiking, picnicking, swimming, boating, fishing, and hunting also continued to play a significant role in many county residents' lives. For several decades following its completion, Strawberry Reservoir was the most popular site for fishing in the state, and many county residents made the trip up Provo Canyon through Heber Valley and Daniels Canyon to take advantage of the camping, hunting, and fishing in Strawberry Valley. Beginning in the early 1920s, rainbow, brook, and cutthroat trout were planted in the reservoir. During the 1920s and 1930s, relatively limited use of Strawberry (in comparison to that of the second half of the century) allowed the fish to thrive. A twenty-six-pound trout, a state record at the time, was caught there.

Airplanes became increasingly popular during the 1920s. Though the world's first powered, sustained, and controlled flights with a heavier-than-air flying machine occurred in 1903, Utahns did not witness a local airplane flight until 1910. During the next several years, however, aerial exhibitions occurred in Utah County and elsewhere in the state. In September 1913 the first airplane buzzed Lehi as a publicity gimmick for the editor of the local newspaper. "Birdman Christofferson" thrilled the crowd gathered on Main Street when he dropped off copies of the local newspaper, the *Lehi Banner*, on the ground in front of the post office.

Despite such stunts, no movement to make aviation a part of the transportation future in Utah County began until the Utah State Legislature passed a law in 1921 granting county governments authority "to lay out landing fields and to build hangers."⁹ Many towns and cities throughout the state took advantage of the law and began construction. Within a decade, both Provo and Payson had

built airports. The *Deseret News* reported in 1929, "Provo club urges airport project." Less than a year later, the paper noted Payson's success in completing the first airport in the county when Governor George Dern dedicated a "new airport at Payson during celebrations." In June the paper reported efforts at the county seat to move forward on the project, stating, "Provo advised to get land for airport."¹⁰

The Era of Prohibition

The 1920s was a decade of Prohibition—a federal law (Volstead Act) prohibited the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Communities in the county had enacted prohibition ordinances as early as 1910; however, countywide prohibition and enforcement increased only after the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution establishing prohibition was adopted in 1919.

Liquor could be found in Utah County. The *Provo Herald* announced, "Biggest still raided within two blocks of [County] Courthouse" in April 1921. Several months later, however, the manager of a resort on the shore of Utah Lake stated, "There hasn't been a dance at Geneva [Dance Hall] this summer when Salt Lake bootleggers didn't come down, loaded with liquor, which was sold to dancers and others."¹¹

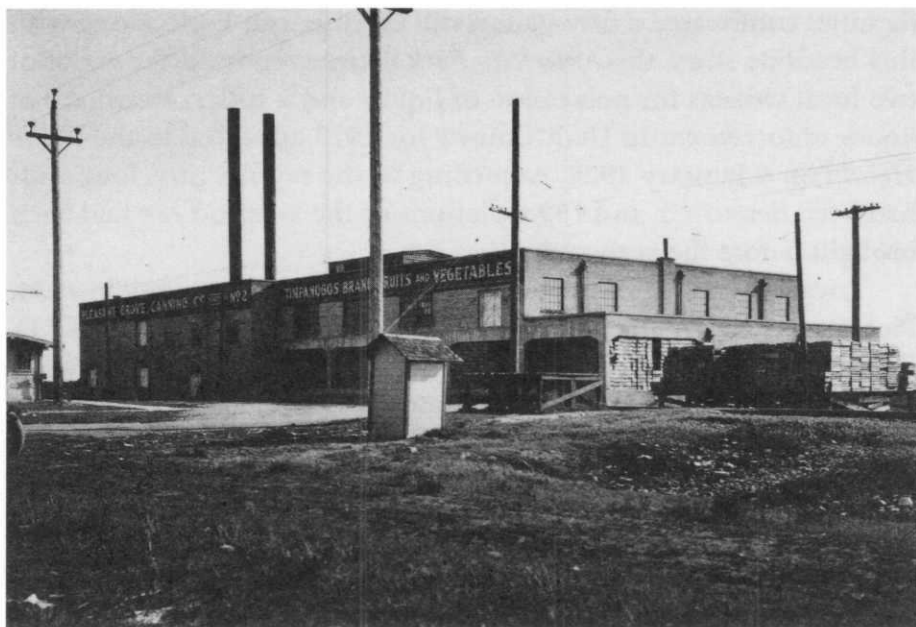
In July 1922 the manager of the Vivian Park Dance Hall in Provo Canyon admitted that drunkenness and improper dancing at the resort had occurred all summer. Less than a week later, a story appeared about a miner who worked at the Dividend Mine being taken into custody for possession of "a dozen bottles of beer, 10 gallons of wine." In 1923 a young man reportedly discovered a box of thirty-five pints of "honest-to-goodness bottled-in-bond whisky of pre-Volstead age" while digging a ditch. As the young man destroyed the cache, a "passer-by stopped and watched the wrecking process for a moment, then picked up one of the bottles and took a long draught. His eyes gleamed, he smacked his lips, patted his stomach and then walked off." In the fall of 1923, superintendent Rod Snow of the Provo City Waterworks asked local citizens to stop flushing empty liquor bottles down their toilets, because the sewer lines were being plugged. On Christmas Eve that year, the sheriff and three

deputies confiscated a fifty-gallon still in American Fork. Along with this headline story, the *American Fork Citizen* reported the arrest of two local citizens for possession of liquor and a still. A summary of liquor enforcement in Utah County for 1923 appeared in the *Provo Herald* on 4 January 1924. According to the report, fifty-four stills had been destroyed, and 159 violations of the Volstead Act had been brought before the authorities.¹²

Local newspapers reported raids throughout the county in 1924. Pleasant Grove was the site of a raid in August in which Sheriff J.D. Boyd and deputies found a “large still.” In September, a 100-gallon still along with 300 gallons of alcohol was discovered near the mouth of Provo Canyon. Soon thereafter, a “large quantity of whiskey” was found in Orem. In October, several “prominent young men” were turned away from a home in Provo by law-enforcement personnel when the young men asked for “sauerkraut,” a code name for moonshine.¹³

Local police, aided for the first time by federal agents, made five raids in Lehi and Provo in one day in 1925. Arrests continued throughout the county. In June a seventy-five-gallon still was seized in Alpine. Within a month, law-enforcement personnel broke up what was described as a “lively party” and confiscated “a number of bottles of moonshine” in East Tintic. In early December Provo police arrested a Salt Lake City man when they discovered thirty-six bottles of gin in the driver’s new 1926 Ford roadster. The most interesting item found in the car, however, was an order book “containing a long list of names of people,” some “prominent” county residents among them. As lawlessness (including organized crime) increased throughout the United States, newspapers conducted a poll asking questions regarding prohibition. The *Provo Herald* participated in the nationwide poll in March 1926. Some 52 percent of the respondents from the county favored keeping the law as it stood; 48 percent favored repeal or modification of the law. In an effort to show progress within the county against the illegal activities, county officials destroyed in public view 126 gallons of confiscated “moonshine” in front of the county courthouse.¹⁴

With the increase in drinking, alcohol-related automobile accidents inevitably occurred on city and county roads. In April 1928, for



Pleasant Grove Canning Company in Orem on 13 May 1926. Several canneries were established in the county to help process the vegetables and fruits of Utah Valley's farms and orchards. The Pleasant Grove Canning Company was the first major industry to be located in Orem, when it began production in 1919. The company merged with Utah Canning Company of Ogden in 1960. (Utah State Historical Society)

example, the *Provo Herald* reported: "Reckless driving, said to have been caused by too much liquor, was the cause of an automobile accident in which three Provo men and two coeds of [BYU] narrowly escaped serious injury or death Sunday afternoon." In August 1928 a man from American Fork filed suit in a Provo court against his wife; the man charged his wife with adultery, illegal manufacture of liquor, and frequenting wild parties. Two days later, the county sheriff arrested two bootleggers west of the Leland Sugar Factory in Springville. Sheriff J.D. Boyd interrupted the men just as they were filling some bottles and said, "Did you fellows ever see a two-gun man before?" Turning around, the suspects suddenly found themselves looking into the barrels of two guns leveled at them by the sheriff. The news story reported, "The approaching Indian war veterans encampment at Spanish Fork seems to have been the factor

stimulating trade in this case.” In September, police found twenty-five gallons of homebrew in a washing machine in a home in Payson. In what may have been the most sensational raid conducted in the county during the decade, sheriff’s department personnel destroyed a large still located at University Avenue in Provo in December 1928. The still had the capacity to produce 200 gallons of whiskey every twenty-four hours. Apparently, the large still was needed to fill the requests of customers for the holiday season.¹⁵

Utah County reflected many of the same problems other regions in the nation faced in the effort to eliminate consumption of alcohol, although the county did not witness a development of organized crime associated with prohibition such as occurred in larger cities of the United States.

Political Developments

The election moods in the county were reflected in the headlines of local newspapers. The *Provo Herald* announced in bold headlines in November 1920: “Republicans Win State and National: Huge Majorities for Utah County Republicans.” The majority of county voters, like those in the rest of the state, gave their support to Republican Warren G. Harding, who promised a “Return to Normalcy” after the upheaval of the war years. Not surprisingly, Republican Reed Smoot was elected to his fourth term as senator. Republican E.O. Leatherwood won the Second District congressional seat. Unlike the 1916 election, where only one Republican was elected to the Utah House of Representatives, only one Democrat was elected in 1920. Local newspaper reports noted that even “Provo City went Republican for the first time in years.” In the strong Republican win, local county Democrat Alice Reynolds lost in her attempt to be elected to the Utah State Legislature.¹⁶

The elections of 1922 and 1924 showed continued Republican strength in Utah County. Democrat Senator William H. King did win reelection in 1922, although it was by a very small majority. In 1926 and 1928 the Republicans remained strong, even though King continued to demonstrate his ability to be reelected to a third term (1928) and Republican Congressman E.O. Leatherwood achieved only a narrow victory in 1928.

As local elections determined the political landscape of the county, actions in Salt Lake City and Washington, D.C., began to make an imprint on the land in northern Utah County through the expansion of facilities at Camp Williams.¹⁷ The government reserve at the Jordan Narrows was rough and rugged, covering more than 18,000 acres. Between 1927 and 1931, the state purchased 252 acres of additional land to add to the reserve. Used as a training site in 1922, the camp became the permanent site for Utah National Guard annual encampments beginning in 1926. In 1928 the camp was named in honor of Brigadier General W.G. Williams, who, as adjutant general, was the prime mover in purchasing the land and establishing the camp as a permanent training site.

The modern era and the past converged at Camp Williams, as the military gathered instruments of war that included 174 horses, twenty-eight wagons, thirty-six trucks, thirty machine guns, and fifty-one artillery tractors. At first, housing at Camp Williams consisted of two-man pup tents for soldiers and corrals for the horses. Later, more permanent facilities were constructed, including sixteen-foot pyramidal tents for the troops and nine-by-nine wall tents for the officers, with wooden pallets for floors. In 1927 the state constructed, with federal assistance, 147 of these tent floors, together with two latrines and bathhouses, ten mess halls, ten hayracks and mangers, and nineteen watering troughs—at a cost of more than \$56,000.

Religion

Even as county, state, and national leaders strove to direct or regulate the affairs of county citizens during the era, local churches also attempted to influence local attitudes during this period of social experimentation. The main interest of the churches in the county, however, was to meet the needs of their local congregations.

The Christian Scientists in the county constructed a facility in Provo for their use and held their first services on 18 July 1926. This building served the needs of the faithful for nearly sixty years until it was sold. The Catholic community in Provo was rewarded for its faithfulness when a permanent pastor came to live among the parishioners. Father Joseph Delair arrived in Utah County in 1920. He

renamed the parish church in honor of the Immaculate Conception about the same time the parish moved to its current location at Fifth West and Second North, where a “daylight church” and rectory were built.¹⁸

Some Protestant churches in the area decided that a union between their groups would better serve the needs of the community. In the face of a large Mormon population, they felt that combining their resources, instead of trying to maintain separate buildings and congregations, would be more practical. Reverend Ludwig Thomsen of the Provo Congregational Church led the effort to merge the churches. This merger met with approval from the Congregationalists, the Methodists, and the American Baptists and resulted in the formation of the Provo Community Church in 1919. The Episcopalians, however, could not surpress their doctrinal differences to join the new group, although Reverend William Bulkley supported ecumenism and believed that cooperation between various denominations was important. Bulkley’s commitment to the community was great during the fifteen years he lived in the county. When he and his wife left Provo in the spring of 1929 to fill a position in Salt Lake City with the Episcopal Diocese, Provo community residents were saddened. The congregation of fifty-one communicants was the strongest Episcopalian congregation in Utah outside of Salt Lake City and Ogden.¹⁹

The county courthouse, following an early Mormon tradition, was built across the street from the Provo LDS Tabernacle. Both buildings were intended to awaken a feeling of stability within the community—one building representing the cornerstone of the American governmental system and the second representing the cornerstone of most residents’ religious faith. The LDS church continued to dominate social welfare assistance and other charitable activities during this period in the county, as might be expected of the largest private organization in the county.

All across the nation, private social welfare agencies multiplied during this period, because the national political climate did not foster governmental expansion of social services. Assigned by the Red Cross to assist LDS families in the county, the LDS Relief Society directed what was called Home Service work. Local county residents

also benefited from the construction and dedication of the new Primary Children's Hospital in Salt Lake City, which gave much-needed medical attention to poor families without the means to pay for it. Before the creation of the LDS church welfare plan in 1936, much official as well as informal cooperation existed between public and private service agencies in the county.

Additional changes in the county are demonstrated by marriage statistics from the county courthouse. Nearly 15 percent of those who obtained marriage licenses in Utah County during the second half of the decade of the 1920s had civil marriages; 22 percent were married in an LDS temple following a civil marriage; and more than 63 percent were initially married in an LDS temple. This contrasted to a group in 1905–10 in which 19 percent were married civilly, 6.3 percent in a church, 25.4 percent in a delayed temple ceremony, and 49.2 percent in an initial temple marriage. During the 1905–10 period, a majority (76.2 percent) did not have a traditional honeymoon, whereas more than half (51.2 percent) of the 1925–30 group did honeymoon. The average duration of the honeymoons increased with each time period studied, from 6.5 days in the 1905–10 period, to eight days in 1925–30. Changes in the honeymoon locale also occurred during this period. Salt Lake City became consistently less important as the destination site in the second half of the 1920s; 47 percent of the earlier group honeymooned there, but only 24 percent of the later group did.²⁰

Life in the 1920s was different for each resident, yet life on the farm was significantly different than life in the larger communities in the county. In the 1920s, farm work was still hard, time-consuming, and not as profitable as it had been when the world was at war. The rapid decline in agricultural prices following the war partially explains the decrease in population between 1920 and 1930 in Lehi, Pleasant Grove, Spanish Fork, and Payson. Nevertheless, farming still played a key role in the local economy.

County newspapers reported important information regarding agriculture. The *American Fork Citizen* announced that the community led in potato shipments for 1923. In 1924 a news note announced that the Pleasant Grove Canning Company was ready to "receive tomatoes Monday" and noted that "all the girls who wish to

be employed” would begin work on Tuesday. The article continued, “The plant will receive tomatoes from Payson, Spanish Fork, Salem, Provo Bench, Vineyard and Lake View.” As an extension of their roles in the nineteenth century as participants in the home economy, the employment of young women was not new. In 1928 the *Springville Herald* carried an article about dairy farming and indicated that “Utah county is not surpassed by any other region in the United States as a dairying center.” The climate, the high quality of local alfalfa hay, and the beet pulp located in the valley all contributed necessary ingredients to success.²¹

Rex Blake’s parents moved to Utah County and bought a farm with few improvements on it in Vineyard, near Provo. Almost all the work to improve the farm was done by the family, including construction of new buildings. Like many young people who lived on the small farms in the region, Blake worked hard on the farm. In 1922, at age eight, Blake was given the responsibility of milking the cows. The family developed a fine herd of dairy cows, but, without milking machines, they faced a tedious and time-consuming job. Nevertheless, the assignment was important, because the family depended upon the milk for its only cash. Blake remembered: “The milk was sent to Salt Lake City to Clover Leaf Dairy on the railroad. Each day we would haul the milk from our place with horses, in the wagon out to the milk house. It was maybe two miles away. Of course, that was in winter and summer, seven days a week, because people didn’t have refrigerators.”

Particularly in the winter, work on the farm was difficult. Blake recalled, “I remember doing chores and how cold my feet would get. We would have chill blains which came from your feet being partially frozen.” Blake remembered “putting my feet in the oven to warm” them. The family chores, including the milking, were done each day before school began. The children then “hurried up and had our breakfast” because they had to walk a mile and a half to the Vineyard School. “We would have to leave at eight-thirty to walk to school in a half an hour to be there by nine o’clock.” After school, the children walked home again to begin their farm chores. Blake noted, “We didn’t have much time left for study.” He reported that they did not have a lot of time to do many extra things—“We just grew up.”

Work on the farm was never ending, and the housing conditions added to the harshness of life. "I have said we had no refrigeration," Blake noted, adding, "We had no central heat. The house was very cold. We heated our water on the kitchen stove, and we would bathe in a round tin bathtub Saturday night. The water was used for several of us to bathe." His fondest memory of the period was the first family truck. "I remember getting our first Ford truck. It was a 1928 Model-A. I was fourteen at the time. I drove. We didn't have drivers' licenses. . . . I was so excited when I could shift to make this car go. I thought I was quite grown-up."²²

The family of Silas Albert and Chasty Olsen Harris moved to a farm between Payson and Spring Lake in the southern part of the county. Their grandson Merrill C. Oaks recalled, "They had fed themselves from the farm and kept life going, but financial ease was not their lot. Grandmother made temple burial clothes to make additional money, and Grandfather sold subscriptions to the *Reader's Digest* magazine. I have fond memories as a child of going with him canvassing houses in Payson to sell subscriptions to the *Readers's Digest*."²³

In an effort to advertise the county's agricultural bounties, several local Pleasant Grove residents came together to organize a "Strawberry Days" festival in 1922. Pleasant Grove already produced 50 percent of the state's strawberry crop.²⁴ The celebration was scheduled for 21 June, a Wednesday. The middle of the week was chosen because the "stores in American Fork, Lehi, and Provo are closing every Wednesday afternoon at 1 o'clock during the months of May, June, July, and August," a local paper explained. The article suggested that the people of Pleasant Grove "should fall in line and take a needed half-holiday during these hot summer months."²⁵

Neighboring communities assisted each other to promote the interests of the county at large. Some 500 business boosters from Provo assisted in the first Pleasant Grove "Strawberry Days" celebration. In fact, when someone discovered that the Provo City Band, the reigning state champion, had scheduled the start of its summer concerts on 21 June, conflicting with Strawberry Days, Provo Mayor O.K. Hansen canceled the concert, saying, "It would be a fine way in which

Provo could show her appreciation of a Sister City's effort to call the world's attention to the strawberry industry in Utah County."²⁶

The big day of the celebration arrived, and the small community of fewer than 2,000 people hosted a crowd estimated at 10,000. The activities of the day began with guns being fired all over town at dawn. The American flag was unfurled at 10:00 A.M. A pageant and parade started at 11:00, followed by a lunch of free strawberries, sugar, and cream. The community was just as enthusiastic about its own locally processed Jersey cream from local dairy farms as it was about its strawberries.²⁷ Throughout the day, a carnival and several concession stands were in operation. In addition, movies were shown in the "Opera House." Bands from Pleasant Grove and Provo, along with a Boy Scout band, furnished music throughout the day.

By 4:00 P.M. the ballpark was surrounded by carloads of people to watch an airplane exhibition and a baseball game between teams from American Fork and Payson. The Central Utah League champions, the American Fork team, won the game by the score of 13 to 7. Later in the evening, a chicken dinner was served by the Mormon Relief Society. The evening activities included a dance review and an operetta. The Provo Band played at the bandstand. Speeches by the chamber of commerce secretary and the Provo mayor emphasized the unity between Provo and Pleasant Grove. Pleasant Grove Mayor Junius A. West responded by welcoming visitors to Pleasant Grove. The day ended with a street dance, with music performed by a local band.²⁸

The first Pleasant Grove "Strawberry Days" was a huge success, even though the big welcome banner that greeted visitors as they approached the city was stolen. Although the celebration was an effort to draw attention to Pleasant Grove, the self-proclaimed "Strawberry Capital" of America, the organizers also wanted to help create a spirit of cooperation they believed was necessary "for the progress and up building of Utah County." The celebration also served as a vehicle to help bring former residents back to their roots.²⁹

Farther south, Springville city fathers hoped that a new industry could help the sagging agricultural economy, still suffering from the decline in farm prices after World War I.³⁰ They donated 400 acres of land to the Columbia Steel Corporation of San Francisco, California,



County officials smashing slot machines at the County Jail in Provo during the 1920s. (Ethel Christopherson)

for a pig-iron plant. Politicians and businessmen joined together to secure an additional 200 acres requested by the steel company. Cooperation between several towns in the county helped bring about the successful purchase. Company officials were attracted to the area—soon known as Ironton—because high-grade coal could be found in Carbon County, eighty-five miles away; iron ore could be brought in inexpensively from Iron County, some 200 miles away; and the county had splendid rail connections with the steel fabricating plants on the west coast to which most of the product would be shipped. Significantly, it was the first large industry developed in the county not aided by the LDS church.

Dedicated in the fall of 1926, the Ironton plant was a major boost to the local economy, employing between 350 and 400 men during its first year of operation. W.H. Simmons, president of the New York Stock Exchange, was the main speaker at the dedication services. With the optimism characteristic of boosters of the period, he said: "I look for no special depression ahead, but rather for a growing steadiness of securities prices. There seems to be very little danger of

any future money panics in Wall Street.” In the spring of the following year, A.W. Christiensen, safety director of the Columbia Steel Company, spoke to the student body at BYU and predicted, “Utah county will be the richest and largest county in the state.”³¹

A satellite industry begun as a result of Ironton. Pacific States Cast Iron Plant was the only cast-iron-pipe foundry west of the Mississippi River for many years. In fact, with its 480 employees, it eventually proved to be of greater importance than the Ironton plant that had attracted it to the area. Other companies moved into the area, including the National Pump Company and the Republic Creosoting Company. Each contributed significantly to the Utah County economy. For example, the Republic Creosoting Company of Indianapolis built a \$300,000 plant near Ironton, utilizing the entire coal-tar by-product of the coke ovens of the Columbia Steel Plant in producing an oil used to prevent decay in wood, paving blocks, and telephone and telegraph poles. These plants became very profitable in the 1920s and survived the Great Depression of the 1930s due to the demand stimulated by relief and recovery agencies and by the rising demand for steel products on the Pacific Coast. By 1941 the Ironton plant was operating at full capacity, employing 500 workers.

Another business had its beginning at this time. O.C. Tanner Company began in 1927, when Obert Tanner, a teacher at the time, wanted to honor graduating students at Spanish Fork High School with a graduation pin. By the end of the decade, Tanner was selling graduation rings and pins in five western states; he later began to manufacture jewelry.³²

County, city, and other civic leaders attempted to boost the local economy in several ways, including publicizing the county’s economic potential. Provo Chamber of Commerce secretary Edwin Hinckley wrote a glowing article for the *Union Pacific Magazine* in 1923. In addition to Hinckley’s essay, A.F. Gaisford, Jr., Lehi Business Club secretary; Irving L. Pratt, American Fork Commercial Club secretary; and BYU President Franklin S. Harris each wrote a section highlighting a different aspect of the county. In the same issue, an article extolling the county’s natural beauty was published; it was written by H.R. Merrill.³³ Four years later, Hinckley wrote a promo-

tional article in the *Utah Payroll Builder*, entitled: "Industrial Utah County." Hinckley noted,

Our valley is traversed by two trans-continental railroad lines and an interurban electric road. The main state and national highways, north and south and east and west traverse our cities. More than three scores of manufacturing plants are located in our County. . . . Exports from our farms and fields and mines and mills bring many millions of dollars into our community each year.³⁴

Hinkley continued: "Our valley is a natural center of agricultural and industrial possibilities for the entire intermountain region." Hinckley noted that the county's "excess agricultural products are canned, condensed and packed in our own plants." Sugar was "produced, from our own rich harvest . . . in our own mills." Butter, cheese, ice cream, condensed milk, and other dairy products were "manufactured in our own mills." Local sheep herds provided wool for the local woolen mill, which produced garments in the same factory. Local candy factories utilized the local sugar products. Hinckley also argued that the poultry business had become significant in the county.

In addition to the coke, gas, coal tar, benzol ammonium sulphate, sulphuric acid, pig iron, foundry products, creosote, and flotation oil being produced by local industry, Hinckley highlighted the "rich supply of building materials, including cement, lime, sand, gravel, clay, stone, common and ornamental, and varieties of local lumber," and the rich supply of metallic and non-metallic materials in the mountains as a sign that Utah County was truly "a land of opportunity, inviting investigation, and investment." All of these benefits invited people to "come and make your home where life is pleasant and full of hope."³⁵

The continued efforts to highlight the county are demonstrated in other stories found in local papers. A fund-raising campaign was launched to raise funds to build a large addition to the BYU football stadium, which had been built on the west side of Temple Hill. The goal was to raise \$25,000 to build an additional 5,000 seats in the stadium.³⁶ The stadium was completed with the help of Wasatch Grading Company, Columbia Steel, and the Denver and Rio Grande

Western Railroad. Dedication ceremonies on 27 October 1928 were somewhat marred when BYU lost the dedication game to the Utah State Aggies, 10 to 0.

A year later, stock prices hit a frightening low. On Tuesday, 29 October 1929, some 16 million shares of stock were offered in a panic for sale at all-time low prices, and most of them were not sold. Added to the agricultural depression that had followed the end of World War I, the economic situation and opportunities in the county worsened, following the situation nationally. Many residents in the county realized the need to separate themselves from family and friends in order to survive financially and began an exodus from the region in large numbers.

Larger cities like Salt Lake City and Ogden attracted some county residents; others made the decision to move beyond Utah's borders. For many, California was the new land of promise, providing employment opportunities not available in the county or in Utah. Born in Utah County in 1898, Delilah Higgs attended school in Provo, eventually graduating with a master's degree from BYU in 1923. Teaching positions in the county were limited, so she accepted employment in Preston, Idaho. After her marriage, she and her husband, Charles Wallace Speierman, decided that California provided the best opportunity for them. Like many other Utah County residents in the 1920s, Delilah Higgs Speierman followed a relative to California—her brother George—who had already made the decision to start again in a new place. This move, so far away from the beautiful valley of Utah Lake, did not completely separate her from Utah County, however.

Shortly after her marriage and move, B.T. Higgs, her father, wrote words of encouragement to his daughter during this difficult transition: "Life is such an interesting thing; it is full of 'thrills' and 'shudders' from childhood to old age. The uncertainties of this make it so; but if it were not that way it would not be very interesting; and we change in our likes and dislikes as our experience develops." Higgs clearly understood that his daughter had begun a new life far away and that her move was more permanent than she was willing to accept, so he added one final piece of counsel: "My advice is, get you a city lot and build you a home; that is the first thing to consider."³⁷

The advice was good, coming from one who realized the economic realities of the day—Utah County could not completely support the growing population, especially in an era when farm prices continued to fall and costs associated with farming continued to rise.

This situation, of course, affected town and city residents throughout the county. Naturally, as was the case with most county residents who left during this period, Higgs kept in touch with friends and family through letters, telegrams, and visits. The road to California or other places was a two-way route, and traveling back and forth began in earnest in the 1920s, continuing until the present. The rituals of life—birth, marriage, and death—were celebrated and experienced in Utah County by former residents who lived beyond the mountains and lake of Utah Valley but who still called the valley home, even decades after they had moved away—making Utah County's borders, in one sense, larger than the physical ones established by law.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER 10

THE TERRIBLE THIRTIES: THE GREAT DEPRESSION 1930–1939

Moroni “Roni” Christopherson and Rube Christensen, deputies for the Utah County Sheriff Department in the early 1930s, went to Goshen on one occasion to find an illegal still. Christopherson recalled: “We camouflaged ourselves by fixing the roads around town and asking the people if they’d seen any booze around.” After several days they approached a home they thought might be the location of the illegal still. A woman came to the door and shouted, “We’ll shoot you if you don’t stay off our property!” The men decided to walk away, but told the shotgun-toting woman that they would be back.

The deputies returned in two weeks when no one was home and entered the house. “I can see it [the still] now,” Christopherson remembered, “there in the house ahuffin’ and puffin’, with a long copper tube and the booze running into a tub.”¹ During the next year, county law enforcement personnel continued to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which prohibited the



The Federal Work Progress Administration installed about seven thousand feet of twenty-four inch concrete culinary pipeline and built thirty-two hundred feet of retaining wall in Provo Canyon at a cost in excess of \$100,000. (Manuscript Division, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah)

manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. From 1917 to 1933, both Utah state law and the U.S. Constitution outlawed alcohol production and consumption, but things were about to change. Utah actually played a decisive role in ending prohibition, becoming the final state necessary to ratify the repeal of the amendment, near the time of the election of 1932—an election that changed the political landscape of the county, state, and nation.

Herbert Hoover had won the 1928 presidential victory with support from Utah County, but Franklin D. Roosevelt received a solid majority in 1932, defeating Hoover as the national economy continued in a tailspin. Roosevelt won repeatedly, with solid majorities in 1936, 1940, and 1944. The mandate given by the people of the county to the Democratic party government paralleled the national voting trends in the 1930s and 1940s. The winds of change swept across the county—sometimes almost like a tornado.

The county was among the regions hardest hit by the Great

Depression of the 1930s because of its dependence on mining and agriculture.² The mining industry was one of the first industries to suffer, and agriculture reeled under the double blows of declining markets and a severe drought. The anguish and hurt from the trauma of the Depression experience are expressed in a letter sent to Washington by a Lehi resident who pleaded for help: “I would bother you with my personal worries and troubles and see if you could do anything to further . . . for the relief and help of the poor devils who had everything wiped out during the past ten years except their desire to be given an opportunity to live and provide for their families.”³

Families turned to whatever source they could find for relief, including local community and private organizations. At first, that was all that was available. Increasing unemployment rapidly overtaxed the resources of the Utah County Commission, which was legally responsible for the distribution of relief. By the fall of 1930, municipalities in the towns of the county were forced to supplement county efforts through the creation of emergency work programs, such as snow shoveling and wood cutting. As conditions continued to worsen the following year, local governments joined with private charity organizations to form committees to coordinate relief activities. As a result of this cooperation, contributions in cash and commodities were solicited and used to establish work-relief programs, employment exchanges, and commissaries for the distribution of food, clothing, and fuel.

Private organizations and individuals attempted to make life tolerable in Utah County during this difficult period. Arthur V. Watkins recognized that the community of Orem had few recreational activities available to its citizens. He incorporated the Sharon Community Educational and Recreational Association, known as Scera, as a non-profit educational and charitable association. It offered to local residents inexpensive recreational opportunities, especially welcome to the unemployed. First, movies were offered in the Lincoln High School auditorium; later, in 1940–41, the association constructed a large art deco building for the purpose near the old Lincoln High School. In Lehi, the Community Welfare Committee was formed to help families in need. In addition, a community cannery was opened in a local building to allow people to preserve fruits and vegetables.

"The Lord helps them, that help themselves," one member of the welfare committee advised in the local paper, the *Lehi Free Press*.⁴

The minutes of the Utah County Commission report numerous requests for help. In July 1931 the commission authorized the county auditor to "give Bp. J.F. Olson of Payson, \$40.00." The money was allocated to pay for the "Burial of Jesse S. Hunt" and to assist in "paying for clothing purchased for Mrs. Hunt and children." During the same meeting, the commission authorized a payment to Bishop Hyrum Anderson of Lehi to cover the cost of burying one Isaac Fox.⁵ Over the next several years, similar requests continued to be received and, in most cases, approved—such as paying undertaking expenses to Anderson Brothers in American Fork and Bishop A.T. McKell of Spanish Fork.

As times grew more grave, people looked to Utah Lake for additional food supplies, as fish provided an inexpensive alternative to beef.⁶ Sold in Salt Lake City and Utah Valley, as much as 3,000 pounds of fish a week from the lake were also shipped on ice by rail to California. Local governments also exploited the lake's resources to help feed people. The Salt Lake County Emergency Relief Organization obtained more than 4,000 pounds of fish from the lake in January 1932. The fish were seined from the lake by the Utah Fish and Game Department and subsequently were hauled to Salt Lake City in county trucks and distributed to the needy free of charge from a warehouse on West Temple Street.⁷

As could be expected in such difficult times, some county residents helped themselves by stealing pigs, rustling cattle, or helping themselves to other people's produce; but most honest men and women just wanted an opportunity to work. Mirroring conditions in the rest of the nation, the economy of the county continued to worsen. Despite the best efforts of charitable organizations and local governments, by the spring of 1932 resources had been strained to the breaking point. In July 1932 Congress passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, which created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to provide loans to states, counties, and municipalities. In August 1932 the first RFC funds arrived in Utah and were distributed to the counties through the Committee on Emergency Relief, which had been appointed by Governor George H.



The Federal Work Progress Administration saw to the repair of a leaky wood stave pipe and much of the wood flume for the Elberta water users. (Manuscript Division, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah)

Dern. The state's role remained limited to disbursement until the following March when the legislature granted the governor full authority to administer relief through public and private organizations. In an arrangement worked out among local agencies, the LDS church assumed responsibility for all relief cases where the head of the household was Mormon.

Symbolic of this period of change was Senator Reed Smoot. He was powerful, and his influence was pervasive in Washington, yet concerns arose in 1932 about his reelection. President Herbert Hoover, on the day before the election, in an effort to buoy up the senator's chances of returning to Washington, told a large gathering in Salt Lake City that Smoot was the "most important man" in the Senate.⁸ At his home in Washington, D.C., Smoot sat down with

paper and pencil in hand to make the tally of votes on the night of the election. Early election returns told the story of Hoover's defeat, but Smoot was still hopeful—feeling that he had given much to Utah during his terms of service. As he realized that he too was defeated, “the Senator laid his pencil and paper aside, removed his glasses, folded them carefully, and placed them . . . in his upper left vest pocket. He rose from the chair and extended a hand to his wife. ‘Come on, Alice,’ he said, ‘it’s past our bedtime.’”⁹

On the following day, the *Evening Herald*, published in Utah County, reported: “Roosevelt’s Margin Over Hoover 35,000; Victory is Complete.” The front-page report continued: “Silent vote speaks with force in greatest political about-face in Utah; Smoot, Colton unable to stem tidal wave.” Although political analysts had predicted a Democratic victory in Utah, they nevertheless “gazed almost unbelievably at latest figures which told the tale of a Democratic tidal wave in Utah that even reduced such political impregnable as Senator Reed Smoot and [First District] Congressman Don B. Colton to defeat.” In the Second Congressional District, Provo attorney J. Will Robinson defeated incumbent Republican Congressman Frederick Loofbourow with 75 percent of the vote.

In addition to Robinson, Democratic candidates Julius C. Andersen of Provo was elected state auditor, Don Ellertson of Provo was elected Provo City judge, Martin M. Larson of Provo was elected district judge, Abe W. Turner of Provo was elected district judge, J.W. Gilman of Orem was elected four-year county commissioner, Hilton Robertson of Springville was elected two-year county commissioner, and W. Stanley Dunford of Provo was elected county attorney. Utah County residents also overwhelmingly supported Democratic presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hoover won only two precincts of nineteen in Provo and only five precincts of twenty-nine in the county (Alpine, Clinton, Fairfield, Highland, and Salem).¹⁰

Smoot’s loss hurt him deeply—especially the fact that a majority of the Mormon population in the county apparently had turned their backs on him—and he harbored deep bitterness over this defeat until his death in 1941. Besides turning out Smoot, county residents also voted to repeal prohibition, despite various church leaders’ opposition, including those of the LDS church. Residents also voted for the

establishment of a minimum wage.¹¹ The era was a major turning point for local residents, county and state governments, and the nation.

Social unrest continued to concern local residents, civic leaders, and religious leaders as the county, state, and nation changed political horses in the early 1930s. George Ballif recalled his experience at the Provo City and County Building: “Ugly mobs were moving into the courthouse and menacing the Sheriff who was performing his duty during Sheriff Sales.” Ballif continued: “It was a very ominous situation. People who were being dispossessed of their homes came to camp on the city and county building lawn down there and all around it. This was the kind of thing that was tearing us apart. . . . [P]eople were completely ruined by it, and of course they were disgusted and angry. . . . It was a time the like of which Utah had never seen since she became a state.”¹² Average farm size dropped drastically during this period, from 131.8 acres in 1930 to 86.1 acres in 1935.¹³

When Roosevelt took office in March 1933, the first of his New Deal programs, the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 (FERA), was approved on 12 May. Although the act extended federal participation in relief for two more years, it changed the nature of the funding from loans to direct grants to the states. Roosevelt established a host of New Deal “alphabet agencies” (so named for their abbreviations) such as the CCC, PWA, WPA, AAA, RA, and NYA, which grew as the agencies pumped increasing amounts of money into the economy. Enthusiasm for the New Deal and the resulting economic security increased among most Utah County residents. Increased federal activity was integral to the county during the Depression. Between 1933 and 1939, only eight states—Nevada, Montana, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Idaho—received more federal aid per capita than Utah. Federal participation in Utah’s land management, reclamation, mining, agriculture, and transportation sectors antedated the Depression; but federal involvement escalated to unprecedented levels during the 1930s. Projects that had been discussed for years were finally approved, funded, and constructed. They included Provo River projects and extensive terracing of the Wasatch Range for erosion control. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) not only was one of the first organiza-

tions to begin operations in Utah County but also was one of the most successful.¹⁴

The CCC's major role in Utah County was to help address two separate but interrelated problems: provide financial relief and help implement conservation projects in the region. The U.S. Forest Service supervised erosion-control projects in the Wasatch Mountains adjacent to Utah Valley. The National Park Service, along with the city of Provo, jointly supervised the only "metropolitan area" camp in Utah. The first CCC camp to be completed in Utah was located about ten miles up American Fork Canyon. After establishing a temporary camp, forty young "enrollees," most of whom were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three, began construction of two barracks on 17 May 1933. By July seventy-five local, experienced men (LEMs) arrived to fill the base complement of two hundred men.

A flurry of activity in Utah County began in 1933 when the CCC began to manage land erosion in several ways. A pilot program of range reseeding proved a success in Sheep Creek (the rangeland between Spanish Fork and Springville), and mountain contour terracing was successfully completed in Little Rock Canyon near Provo. The CCC also accomplished much of the preliminary work on Deer Creek Dam and the related Provo River project, including an extensive system of dams, tunnels, and canals to bring water from the Weber and Duchesne rivers into the Provo River to fill Deer Creek Reservoir.

The county's 1934 quota was 226 men of the state's 1,741 CCC workers for that year. Based on economic need in urban areas affected by the drought of 1934, each community in the county was allotted a certain number of trained and untrained workers. Provo received six experienced and seventy-nine inexperienced workers; Springville, one experienced and nineteen inexperienced workers; American Fork, Payson, and Lehi, one experienced and sixteen inexperienced each; and Spanish Fork, one experienced and nineteen inexperienced. The allotment also provided for an additional twenty-two experienced and forty-seven inexperienced workers from the county and permitted residents to apply for the positions.¹⁵

In addition to regular work projects that benefited the mountains

and rangeland in Utah County, the CCC also created good public relations by participating in community work of a volunteer nature, including a project at Pleasant Grove Elementary School. Enrollees at American Fork worked with local Mormon youth, preparing the grounds and planting lawns at Mutual Dell, an LDS campground in American Fork Canyon. In cooperation with BYU, enrollees installed 5,000 feet of pipe for a new sprinkling system at Aspen Grove. In 1933 the CCC began to build a trail from the middle of the Timpanogos Cave Trail around the cliffs to the entrance of Hansen's Cave, and in 1936 the CCC finished that part of the trail. By the time the CCC's activities came to a halt in 1942, the agency had spent nearly \$53 million in Utah—ranking Utah seventh in the nation in CCC expenditures per capita.

Simultaneously, federal legislation reached into the private economic sector, extending credit as well as mortgage protection to farmers, regulating crop production, and providing social security to the aged and the disabled. New Deal programs also poured millions of dollars into construction or renovation of roads, airports, and public buildings such as schools. In Lehi, federal funds were used in 1934 to lay a new deck on the Jordan River Bridge and to gravel the road two miles west. Lehi's city waterworks were upgraded during the following year. Bleachers at the local high school football field were added in 1936 as a result of federal funds, and a \$14,000 grant helped upgrade the Lehi Hospital (which had been donated to the community by Dr. Elmo Eddington so the facility could qualify for federal funds) into an eighteen-bed facility in 1937.¹⁶

Another important cooperative effort in Utah County between the federal government and local residents was the construction of the Springville Museum of Art by the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA). Designed by Claud S. Ashworth, this Spanish Colonial Revival style building was an important addition to the county's cultural community. By 1935, local residents felt that the ever-increasing art collection at Springville High School needed a larger facility for its preservation and display. Nebo School District donated the lot, the city of Springville donated approximately \$29,000 in equipment and materials, the LDS church donated



Federal Work Progress Administration workers graded three miles of sidewalk in Pleasant Grove; one-half mile of this distance was graveled. (Manuscript Division, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah)

\$20,000 or more, and the federal government, through the WPA, spent \$54,000 on the project. Work began on 23 November 1935.

The WPA was responsible for the manufacturing of tile for the museum. The work was completed under the direction of Virgil Hafen, a local artist. Red clay was taken from the mountains near Thistle and combined with a gray clay found near the southeast limits of Springville. The result produced a natural color tone of tan, rose, and deep red. The building was completed and dedicated in 1937 by LDS church apostle David O. McKay to be a “sanctuary of beauty and a temple of meditation.”¹⁷

Although most of the New Deal agencies were organized for stop-gap relief purposes, the agencies permanently broadened federal interest and involvement in Utahns’ lives. Unprecedented federal outlays altered the social landscape of Utah, making the 1930s an era of modernization—including mechanical harvesters and sprayers, progressive irrigation projects, an interurban train, trucks to trans-

port Utah's produce to Los Angeles and other cities, and medical cooperatives. Trends toward mechanization, electrification, commercialization, and specialization underway well before the Great Depression drew vigor from New Deal funds.

Another ambitious federal program focused on agricultural reform. The federal government, through resettlement agencies, planned to relocate thousands of families from submarginal farms, placing them on more viable tracts of land. Some farm families from Widtsoe in Garfield County were relocated in Utah County. Reed Reynolds, for example, lived in Widtsoe and moved to the Benjamin area in 1938 with his wife and three small children. Some of the Reynolds's neighbors and friends from John's Valley moved to Payson, Spanish Fork, and Pleasant Grove. In fact, his mother and father settled in Orem, where they were able to pay cash for a home and orchard with money from the sale of their ranch in John's Valley. They were able to do so because they owned a large tract of land with some water rights; those with small tracts and no water rights were less fortunate.

The federal government brought the resettlement families into the county, showed them which properties were for sale, and let them decide which ones they wanted to purchase. Extra money to purchase the land and farm equipment came in the form of a loan from the government. Reynolds recalled fondly, "I think it was a wonderful thing. Actually because we would have starved to death there. It just got down to where we couldn't do it."¹⁸

Not everyone was as happy as Reed Reynolds with the federal government's efforts to relocate Widtsoe families, however. Harry N. Swanson of Lehi wrote to government officials: "I know for a fact that much of [\$100,000 used to relocate families] could have been eliminated by red tape cutting and by putting men in who were interested in the welfare of the 'clients' rather than those who were desirous to make their job and salary last indefinitely."¹⁹ A few months later, Swanson responded to a letter from Washington, D.C., regarding the transfer of his property in Widtsoe. Apparently, Swanson was waiting for additional money to purchase a farm in Utah County. "Bitter? Yes, why shouldn't we be when we have seen the waste and inefficiency of high salaried men, and the needs and despair of the 'clients'?"

who are only pawns in a game where graft and corruption are eating up the funds appropriated for the use of the needy and suffering," he wrote.²⁰

The federal government not only looked to Utah County as a possible site to relocate farm families but also viewed one area of the county as the site of a resettlement/rehabilitation project. In 1934 a government employee suggested that the area of Elberta was a likely site for federal intervention. Even though the area included 2,000 acres of fertile soil, had a favorable climate, and lay adjacent to potential markets, the farmers in Elberta were impoverished because of a critical lack of irrigation water. The local federal agent thought the government could easily build a adequate water system to restore the productivity of existing farmland as well as reclaim additional acreage for a resettlement community.

Although the project had already received regional and national approval, it became apparent that water rights from marginal land in nearby Goshen would have to be transferred to Elberta if the lands there were to be farmed. One suggestion to the dilemma was to simply resettle the people living in Elberta, because the people of Goshen, who had already argued with Elberta residents about water, would resist the plan as it then stood. This suggestion was rejected, however, and the government moved ahead with its plan.

The federal plan was ambitious—expanding on the original 2,000-acre plan to include 11,000 acres. Nevertheless, the Elberta project never materialized, leaving residents in a difficult position. Mrs. G. Edmond Owen wrote to government officials and asked in frustration: "Just what does the government expect in such cases? Are we to sit out here waiting for these local officials to draw a salary as long as there is any money, and do nothing whatever for people who are willing to earn their way if given half a chance?"²¹

For those who were relocated, leave-taking was only the first adjustment to be made. Once the people left their farms and community, they had to readjust to a new community and a new farm. Participants in some projects met with open hostility and contempt from their new neighbors. Most of the people relocated to Utah County, however, were warmly welcomed by their new neighbors. One reason this relocation occurred more smoothly in Utah than in



The Federal Work Progress Administration dug a ditch and syphon as part of the Payson City irrigation system. A small earth-fill dam was also constructed. (Manuscript Division, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah)

some other parts of the country was that most of the resettled families belonged to the LDS church and therefore found a strong support network awaiting them in their new communities. Nevertheless, families were often deprived of former friendships and family ties (absent siblings, parents, and children), causing additional stress. In Utah County, local residents generally attempted to reach out and help the new residents adjust to their new communities and to new ways of farming.

Though the federal government was the major contributor helping out Utah residents, local volunteer and community efforts also assisted people coping with the Great Depression. Certain conditions in the county promoted cooperation long before the 1930s. For example, the small size and diversified crops of many county farms bolstered the ability of each community to meet its labor needs. Furthermore, the village pattern of settlement of the county facili-

tated social interaction, thereby increasing opportunities for cooperation.

The economic exigencies of the Great Depression combined with these natural characteristics to generate a number of cooperative projects, many of them sponsored by the LDS church's Security (later renamed Welfare) Plan, established in 1936. Following federal programs, the LDS church established its program to help members of the Mormon church throughout the Intermountain West. Primarily a direct-relief program providing commodities and supplies along with work, its effect was substantial; but it only supplemented governmental action, it never supplanted the New Deal program as some LDS leaders had hoped. Yet the cooperation between the federal government and religious and local community leaders helped Utah County leaders assist a greater percentage of people than would have been possible without this effort.

County residents experienced another setback in 1934 when little moisture fell during the entire growing season.²² In addition, the previous four years had been abnormally dry in many parts of the region, and snowfall and rainfall was unusually low for the year. Utah Lake contained only one-third of its normal volume of water, and the actual shoreline was more than two miles inside its traditional border. Because the county's economy was still agriculturally based at the time, the drought of 1934 was a major hardship for county residents.

Meeting with local and state water experts, Utah Governor Henry Blood asked for financial help from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Robert H. Hinckley, a son of a BYU geology professor, was serving at the time as the administrator of the FERA in Utah and played a significant role in helping county residents obtain much-needed help. Although local, county, and state officials implemented plans to restrict water usage, much more water was needed. Based on reports, Hinckley sent an urgent telegram to Harry Hopkins, national administrator of FERA, on 8 May 1934, asking for help. Hopkins presented the request to President Roosevelt the very next morning. Within thirty-six hours, the federal government announced a grant of \$600,000 to help Utah.

A nonpartisan board in Utah reviewed various proposals and eventually decided to spend \$551,569 of the grant money for irriga-

tion projects, \$18,950 for stock-watering projects, and \$29,481 for culinary water projects. Among the approved projects were the installation of a pumping plant at Pelican Point to pump water from Utah Lake and the extension of the Strawberry Reservoir outlet so more water could be diverted to Utah Valley. In addition, dozens of projects were set up to dig artesian wells and improve ditches throughout the county. Residents continued to suffer from the drought in June, July, and August. The *Provo Sunday Herald* reported that the early pea crop was only 60 percent of normal due to the drought.²³

As the situation continued to strangle the agricultural segment of the economy, Utah officials lobbied the Public Works Administration (PWA) to make the Deer Creek reclamation project a top priority. Water from the Provo, Duchesne, and Weber Rivers was to be stored in Deer Creek Reservoir located in Wasatch County and supplied to Utah Valley farms. Drought relief through the Farm Credit Administration (FCA) for the county amounted to \$193,820 in 1934–35.²⁴ Mormon and other religious congregations throughout the county prayed for rain as crops continued to wilt. Finally, in early November, a few rainstorms came. By Thanksgiving, the people of the county had reason to be grateful. Provo Mayor A.O. Smoot said: “With all our ups and downs and much as we could like to change some conditions which are not as we would like them, it is doubtful if there is a country in the world today that is as well off as we are.” In this Thanksgiving message, Smoot continued: It looks like the drought is broken. Our people seem more optimistic . . . all in all I think we have great reasons to be grateful to God for our many blessings.”²⁵

During this difficult decade religious development continued in the county. Two denominations found their way to the county in the 1930s, one returning to make a permanent home for its faithful. The Lutheran church had come to Utah during the territorial period and established congregations in Utah County at Provo, Spanish Fork, and Santaquin. However, membership subsequently had declined. In 1931, however, the Lutherans in the area established St. Mark’s Lutheran Church. Also, at the end of the decade, the first Jehovah’s Witnesses baptisms in the county were performed in Provo, and a small nucleus of worshippers began to promote their faith.

The Episcopal church continued to be active in the community.

Reverend Dr. Palmer R. Bowditch came to Provo in 1934 to replace Reverend James. L. Hayes. Reverend Bowditch had the distinction of serving simultaneously as both vicar of the Episcopal church and as the county physician, responsible for Utah County's health program until 1937. The Community Congregational Church utilized its facilities for the benefit of the entire community; between 1925 and 1938 a daily kindergarten was held in Meno Trope Hall, with some 437 participants.²⁶ Additionally, the church, which had always been committed to serving the needs of youth in the area, founded the first Cub Scout troop in Provo on 29 July 1935; the Cub Scout troop was nondenominational.

The cinema diverted residents' attention from the daily drudgery. Movies at the Royal Theater in Lehi cost just ten cents to view. Occasionally, both the Royal and the Cozy Theater in the community gave away tickets to keep up peoples' spirits. Cash became rare, and portions of the economy of the county slipped back to the days of bartering. LDS church donations returned to "in kind" contributions when local church leaders announced that farm and garden produce would be accepted as tithing. Other institutions also accepted the barter system as a means of payment; one dance hall reportedly accepted vegetables, fruits, grains, or other foodstuffs in lieu of the fifty-cent entrance fee for men and the ten-cent entrance fee for women.

Delbert and Ora Holman Chipman's family were representative of another segment of the county's population. Ora Chipman recalled: "When the Depression came, it did strike us in a terrible way. We had two dollars and some odd cents on hand. The bank was closed. We knew not where to get any funds or what we could do to help. . . . I immediately went back to work myself." She fortunately found a job as an assistant supervisor of Utah County welfare. As more and more people came for help, her workload increased. She reported that she was responsible for everyone who needed help from the "north part of Provo to the Point-of-the-Mountain." Chipman worked from two offices, one in the city hall in American Fork and the other in Lehi.

Additional people were needed to help in the effort, so Chipman visited a well-known nurse in Utah County, hoping to entice her to

come and help with the work. She found the woman at home with nothing to eat and no money to buy food. Chipman helped with some food and the job offer. Such efforts brought immediate rewards and a sense that people can make a difference. However, she also reported that some of the people in the county were not satisfied: "We had some people in town [American Fork] that nothing would suit them. You could not please them. . . . They even walked the streets barefooted to make things look worse than they were," Chipman recalled.²⁷

Leo Meredith, another Utah County resident, struggled to continue in his building trade during the Depression. He recalled that the WPA helped him keep working: "Then when we got into the WPA period in the 1930s we acquired a lot of jobs of remodeling and work projects created by the government." Meredith felt that much good was accomplished through the WPA, including the construction of a local hospital in American Fork. He recalled: "The American Fork Co-op, a retail outlet, liquidated their assets and left their building vacant on Main Street. . . . This property by that time had been used by various tenants and they had left it in shambles. So as a hospital board and with the help of others in town, we went to the American Fork City, the Alpine School District, Utah County, and the State of Utah and requested that they abate all the delinquent taxes on this property which was now being offered for sale by a credit association who had it in hand."²⁸ The group purchased the property for \$2,500. With few financial resources but some volunteer help, the group began to make the property into a hospital.

Robert Brown recalled his experience on a Utah County farm: "It was hard to get any help. I remember they were paying a dollar a day. In between running the farm I trucked for the Rocky Mountain and the Utah Pickle. I bought my first big truck in 1933. I only had little trucks until then. Then I started hauling bigger loads and hauling cabbage up for Utah Pickle. Shortly after that I got a job for Rocky Mountain Packing Company in Murray."²⁹

Of the many stories that represent the personal anguish caused by the economic situation of this period, few are as sobering as that of Reed Smoot, the ex-senator from Utah. As he mulled over his defeat in November 1932, Smoot was forced to confront the prob-



Ten thousand linear feet of ditches along Santaquin streets were lined with stone during this Federal Work Progress Administration undertaking. (Manuscript Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah)

lems at his bank in Provo. Within a short time after returning to Utah in 1933, the state bank examiner closed the Provo Commercial and Savings Bank after more than forty years of business in Utah County. Some local residents were resentful. A cousin (whom Smoot had financially helped on several occasions) wrote Smoot: "If the bank is not opened and depositors reimbursed it is my opinion that it will leave a deep dark ugly stain not only upon your good name but also on your whole career as a banker and will never, never be erased. I am further of the opinion that it would be with you in your everyday life; follow you to your grave and remain behind forever after you are lowered into mother earth."³⁰

This letter represented the feelings of a growing number of county residents who became angry toward Smoot. Added to his political defeat and business losses, Smoot struggled with family problems as his children and their spouses tried to survive the effects of the Depression. In 1933 a Utah contractor sued Smoot's son Brownie for nonpayment of debt. In July Smoot was forced to obtain extensions on loans co-signed with other children and pay the inter-

est due on them. In September 1933 Smoot was pressured to repudiate the debts of his former son-in-law Carlyle Nibley. Lawsuits continued to plague Smoot, and he was forced to write to friends for help. By 1934 his oldest daughter, Chloe, found financial relief when Smoot assumed a large loan. His three sons—Harold, Ernest, and Brownie—kept a low profile as Smoot sought to cover their debts. Ernest Smoot's wife died of tuberculosis, leaving him with three small children, an enormous debt, and no employment.

Zella Smoot Nibley, now divorced, wrote her father frequently, recalling the days of the 1920s when laughter, happiness, and money seemed to abound in the Smoot home. Eventually, Smoot found her a place to live and helped pay her's and her children's expenses. The husband of Smoot's daughter Anne died in 1938. She could not deal with the pain and began to deteriorate both physically and mentally. She died three months later, leaving a huge debt and three children for Smoot to worry about. Smoot, lacking the financial means that he had in the 1920s, was forced to ask the Veteran's Administration for reimbursement for the burial expenses for his son-in-law. Like many other people who entered the Depression period with huge stock portfolios, Smoot received pennies on the dollar on stock sales, and he was forced to sell his assets as he attempted to help his family during the national economic crisis.

Smoot's was not the only bank to fail. The Knight Savings Bank in Provo failed and was purchased by First Security Bank. However, some banks remained open during the period. The Bank of Pleasant Grove, chartered in 1911, was closed during the "Bank Holiday" ordered by President Roosevelt on 6 March 1933. It reopened, however, as a result of significant effort by bank officers, who called a meeting of shareholders and borrowers that was held in the LDS Timpanogos Stake Tabernacle. Bank director Swen L. Swenson pleaded with depositors to leave their funds in the bank and not to make a "run" on the cash the bank held in the vault. Most were persuaded, but a few still wanted to withdraw their money. Swenson agreed, promising to meet them at the bank when it reopened in the morning. As the small group left the bank with their money in hand, Swenson met them at the door and asked them where they were going to deposit the money, "in a shoe box or your mattress?"

Reportedly, each person returned to the bank and redeposited his or her money.³¹

Life for most people in the county changed drastically during the Depression. People out of work and those seeking better opportunities continued the out-migration started in the 1920s. Thomas A. Beesley had built a successful monument and vault business in Provo after his arrival in the county during the pioneer period. He and his wife, Sara, were headed for the goldfields of California in the 1850s when she became ill. They decided to stay in the small Mormon community of Provo in order to obtain medical treatment and rest; but they then remained and sank their roots deep into the valley of Utah Lake. Eventually, their sons joined their father in the expanding enterprise; however, in the 1930s the oldest sons left the county and state to find employment elsewhere. Only the youngest son, David, born in 1911, remained to continue the business during the struggling period of the Great Depression.³²

For many of those Utah County residents who left the county, Utah Valley still remained “home.” For example, former county resident Delilah Higgs Speierman noted in her 1934 diary: “Left Los Angeles today for Utah on the Columbia Night Coach 6 P.M.” For those who returned, visiting family and attending civic, church, and community activities helped to bind them to the county. Speierman participated in the family ritual on the Fourth of July holiday—a trip into a nearby canyon. She noted: “Went to Provo Canyon. Sat by a stream of water. Evening in car listening to crickets.” These were precious moments, bringing back memories of earlier days in Utah County. Back in Provo for the Fourth of July celebration, she noted: “We saw a lovely parade in Provo [and] fireworks.”³³ The special Fourth of July activities in Provo were sponsored by the American Legion Provo Post No. 13 and merchants of Provo. The *Provo Evening Herald* reported on the “mammoth parade.” Some eight drum-and-bugle corps in “their gala attire of highly colored uniforms and snappy marching” from Utah, Montana, and Colorado participated. The parade included numerous floats representing “various civic clubs, fraternal organizations, church, business houses, industrial plants and utility organizations, also the Boy Scouts of America.” The center feature of the parade was the “Goddess of Liberty float, with

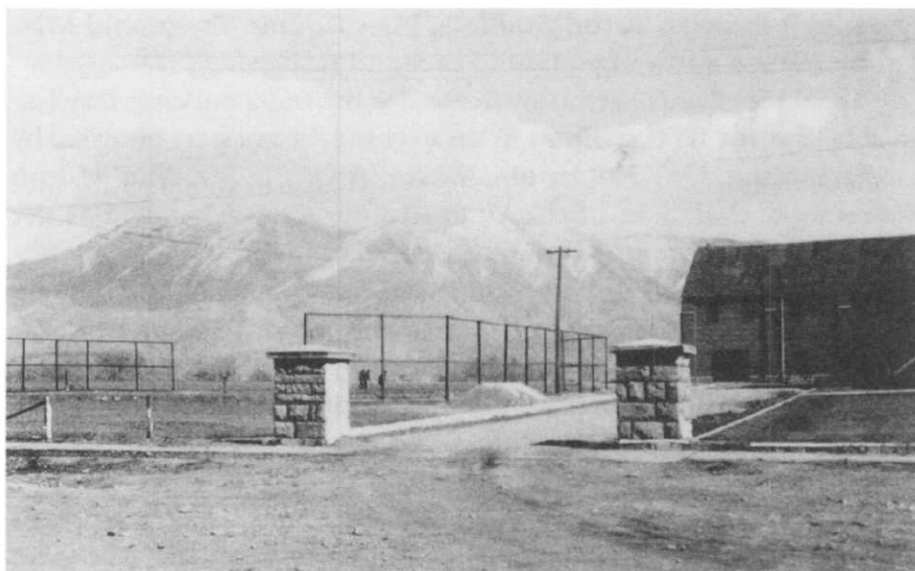
Miss Beth Paxman as the Goddess; Miss Nadine Taylor and Miss LaRue Startup as the attendants, Peace and Justice.”³⁴

Local merchants gave away tickets for the Independence Day festival held at the BYU stadium in the evening. Prizes were awarded by Congressman J.W. Robinson, Mayor A.O. Smoot, and Hilton Robertson, chairman of the Utah County Commission. For the Depression era, the prizes were spectacular, including a new automobile. After a long and eventful vacation, Speierman and her son returned to southern California. This visit was not the last one to the county for the Speierman family. Like many other former residents, they continued their visits to the county during the Depression, keeping up their relationship with the land, people, and institutions of Utah County.

The “Terrible Thirties” were never forgotten by county residents who lived through them. Stella Snell Jorgensen recalled, “The great depression was a terrible time for my family as my husband had just been working for the Union Pacific R.R. for 1 year when he was layed off for ten years and no work otherwise available. His family on the farm was our only source of food until W.P.A. started under President Roosevelt.”³⁵ The period was certainly a time of change for Utah County and its people.

Although the scope of the New Deal was immense, it did not end the Depression in Utah County—or in the rest of the nation for that matter. World War II did that. Yet, a comparison of the employment rate of 1936 with that in the winter of 1932–33 demonstrates a significant decline—from nearly 36 percent in 1933 to 6 percent in 1936, a figure comparable to the 5 percent of the last part of the 1920s. The county reached full employment for the first time in the twentieth century during the early years of the Second World War. By the time the war ended in 1945, Utah County, like America as a whole, had never been so prosperous.

As America prepared for war, some Utah County citizens had already experienced the brutal rise of fascism in Europe. Spanish Fork resident Reed Bradford served an LDS church mission in Germany in the 1930s. One morning, while performing his missionary duties, he came in view of about 10,000 people. They were standing in formation, “some in uniform,” in a city square. Innocently, Bradford



The Federal Work Progress Administration built a tennis court and completed a landscaped project at American Fork High School. (Manuscript Division, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah)

asked two men standing by what was going on. The men were surprised that he did not know. It was May Day, 1 May, and Adolf Hitler's propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, was addressing the German workers throughout the nation by radio from Berlin. As Goebbels finished his speech, a Nazi flag was raised and everyone "came to Adolf Hitler's salute."

Bradford informed the men that he was an American and began to walk away without raising his arm. As he quickened his pace, he noticed four men following him, which made him run faster. He recalled the terrifying experience: "The next thing I knew I was on the ground, and as I looked up I saw the four. They were beating me unmercifully and knocking my teeth out." The two Germans who had talked with him earlier came to his rescue, even though they knew that the men were members of the secret police. They told the men that Bradford was not a German but was an American citizen. The men immediately stopped, but they took the young missionary down to Gestapo headquarters, where he was interrogated. Before they finally released him, they said, "You know you insulted the great-

est person on this earth, Adolf Hitler, the one that not only rules Germany but one who may someday rule the world.”³⁶ Nearly three years later, the young Spanish Fork resident returned home from the nation that eventually began a war of destruction and death unparalleled in the twentieth century, reaching into the lives of most Utah County residents at some level.

ENDNOTES

1. Moroni Wilford Christopherson, personal history, undated, in private possession, courtesy of Earl and Ethel Christopherson, Spanish Fork, Utah.
2. Summary based on John S. McCormick, “The Great Depression,” in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 136–38.
3. Harry N. Swanson to Abe Murdock, 1 July 1939, State Project Files, National Archives, Washington D.C.; courtesy of Brian Cannon, Brigham Young University.
4. *Lehi Free Press*, 8 September 1931.
5. “Minutes—Board of County Commissioners, Utah County, Utah,” 20 July 1931, Utah County Commission Office, Provo, Utah.
6. Summary based on D. Robert Carter, “A History of Commercial Fishing on Utah Lake” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969).
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9. Harvard S. Heath, “Reed Smoot: The First Modern Mormon” (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1990), 2:1033.
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11. Allan Kent Powell, “Elections in the State of Utah,” in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 161.
12. George F. Ballif, oral history, with Kay Alta Hayes, 18 February 1974, BYU Archives.
13. 1993 *Statistical Abstract of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 1993), 24–26.
14. Summary based on Kenneth W. Baldridge, “The Civilian Conservation Corps,” in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 95–97.
15. *Provo Evening Herald*, 3 July 1934.
16. *Lehi Free Press*, 9 August 1934, 25 April 1935, 13 February 1936, 12 August 1937, 31 October 1940.

17. "Springville Art Museum Information Sheet," provided to author by the museum.

18. Reed Reynolds, interview, 12 January 1985, courtesy of Brian Cannon, Brigham Young University.

19. Harry N. Swanson to Abe Murdock, 27 March 1939, State Project Files, National Archives; courtesy of Brian Cannon, Brigham Young University.

20. Harry N. Swanson to Abe Murdock,, 1 July 1939, State Project Files, National Archives.

21. Mrs. G. Edmond Owen to C.O. Scott, 25 August 1936, Elberta Resettlement Project Papers, Special Collections, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

22. Summary based on Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Great Drought of 1934," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Summer 1986): 245–64.

23. *Provo Sunday Herald*, 3 June 1934.

24. *Utah*, Statistical Section Report No. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Office of Government Reports, 1940) 1:29.

25. *Deseret News*, 29 November 1934.

26. Summary based on David H. Streets, "Provo Community Congregational Church United Church of Christ," unpublished manuscript in author's possession.

27. Ora Holman Chipman, oral history, with Tillman Boxell, 31 May 1978, BYU Archives.

28. Leo Meredith, oral history, with Roger Minor, 2 August 1973, BYU Archives.

29. Robert Milton Brown, oral history, with Jerry Lee, 31 July 1973, BYU Archives.

30. C.A. Glazier to Reed Smoot, 21 April 1933, Smoot Collection, BYU Archives.

31. Kenneth D. Wright, "The History of Canning in Northern Utah County: Pleasant Grove Canning Company," unpublished manuscript, (1986), Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

32. Eventually, the company began to prosper again and a new shop was constructed in 1951 opposite the Provo City Cemetery; see "Beesley Monument & Vault Company, Provo, Utah," *Monument Builder News* (August 1971): 36–39.

33. Delilah Higgs Speierman, Diary, 1 June, 2 June, 18 June, 1 July, 4 July 1934, in private possession, courtesy of Susannah Speierman Langenheim, Glendale, California.

34. *Provo Evening Herald*, 4 July 1934.

35. Stella Snell Jorgensen, interview with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, September 1994, transcript in possession of the author.

36. Reed Howard Bradford, interview with Jady Tippetts, n.d.; see *Utah Generations 2* (Provo: Provo Vocational High School, 1989–1990).

CHAPTER 11

WORLD WAR II AND THE HOME FRONT, 1941–1945

As county residents turned the pages of their calendars at the beginning of December 1941, the United States was slowly emerging from the Great Depression that had crippled the county for nearly a decade. For the first time in years, most people had enough food on their tables and some change to jingle in their pockets. Despite the signs of economic recovery, however, Americans had good reason to be concerned about the future. For three years, the United States had been able to remain out of the war that was sweeping across Europe. Now, however, in its ninth year under the leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the U.S. found itself drawn ever closer to the European conflict and into a confrontation with Japan in the Pacific as well.

In 1940 Congress had enacted the Selective Service and Training Act that saw more than 16 million American men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-six register for military service, including residents of Utah County. A small National Guard unit in Pleasant Grove was inducted into service on 3 March 1941.¹ One of the inductees, Jack Cook, noted: “I was inducted to federal service as

Motor Sgt. because I had worked in a service station, had driven a truck and had a valid Chauffeur's license." The men stayed in Pleasant Grove for the first two weeks of orientation. Since there was no armory at the time, they slept in rooms over Thornton's Drugstore on Main Street. Cook, like many other county residents at the time, did not necessarily want to become a soldier but considered it a duty.²

The world situation notwithstanding, most county residents greeted 7 December 1941 as a typical peaceful Sunday. Throughout the county, families relaxed over their newspapers, attended church services, or planned their Christmas shopping (most stores were closed on Sunday). Maurice Harding of Provo was bringing in the family Christmas tree when he heard the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor over the radio. "We were thinking of Christmas and peaceful things, when suddenly war was in the making," he recalled.³ The suddenness, ferocity, and surprise of the Japanese attack against the U.S. Navy base and military airfields on the island of Oahu, Hawaii, left most county residents confused, shocked, and stunned. For those old enough to understand, the name, the date, and the act itself would be indelibly printed in their memories.

J. Collin Allan, then seven years old, remembered a family friend coming over to the Allan home in Mapleton who "told us about it. Our family (brother, parents and myself) turned on the old radio and listened to the reports. It was a cold, clear day. No snow!" Like so many other county residents, Allan did not know where Pearl Harbor was located but "learned a lot about it soon. The song 'Let's Remember Pearl Harbor' was soon on the radio."⁴ Richard Thayne, eleven years old at the time, was delivering the Sunday morning edition of the *Salt Lake Tribune* when he heard the news. "I was so scared I could hardly stand it as I walked home," he recalled.⁵ When nine-year-old Gloria Smith walked into her home from playing with neighborhood friends, she found her mother crying and her father trying to offer comfort. When her parents tried to explain, Gloria recalled, "I didn't really understand just what that meant."⁶

Following news of the Pearl Harbor attack, people throughout the county waited for President Roosevelt to speak. Shortly after noon on 8 December, in an address to a joint session of Congress and the nation, President Roosevelt condemned the Japanese attack and

requested an immediate declaration of war. Gloria Smith recalled being at school in Payson on this occasion, and the students sat in a half circle around a small table with an oval radio on it. "I remember thinking of the possibility of being bombed and killed here, in Payson, as the people in Hawaii were. I was frightened and confused," she later wrote.⁷ Three days later, Germany and Italy, supporting their Japanese ally, declared war against the United States. The waiting was over; in joining the fight against the Axis powers, America was now committed to a global conflict that would last four long years.

Many county residents felt helpless and concerned for friends in Europe. Some German-speaking former LDS missionaries had mixed feelings. George Blake, from Vineyard, recalled: "I had completed an LDS Mission to Germany in 1939 and realized that Hitler had sealed the fate of my many friends in Germany. . . . I sensed that Pearl Harbor demolished our chances of remaining aloof from Europe's War."⁸ Spanish Fork resident Ramona Hamilton remembered vividly the propaganda that instilled animosity for the Japanese, "We were taught at home and at school to hate the Japanese and we referred to them as Japs." This seven year old, along with family members, "searched the house for things made in Japan" and destroyed them shortly after the news of the attack at Pearl Harbor. The feeling of hatred was heightened as she returned home from school every day and walked past a home that displayed a "gold star" in the window, signifying that a member of the family had died in the war. "The movies depicted them [the Japanese] as monsters. I still struggle with my feelings," she reported years later.⁹

On Monday, the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Utah County Sheriff Theron S. Hall met with the county commission and recommended that several special deputies be appointed to serve as guards at Columbia Steel Company. An important industry, the plant increased its capacity with the outbreak of war from 200,000 to 500,000 tons of pig iron per year by adding another blast furnace. Additionally, five men were appointed to guard the California Packing Corporation plant in Spanish Fork. On 12 December the county commission authorized additional deputies to guard Denver and Rio Grande Railroad property in the county.¹⁰

Clarence H. Harmon, captain of Provo's Utah State Guard

troops, announced plans to expand his organization to protect the county against “saboteurs” or “any disaster or outbreak that may occur.” He urged any able-bodied man between the ages of seventeen and fifty who was not already in the military to join the guard, adding that “we need 100 volunteers tonight.”¹¹ A Defense Alert unit also had been formed that stood ready to protect county residents. Consisting mostly of veterans of earlier wars, the 600 men were armed and equipped to function in case of disturbance, invasion, or threat.

Invasion by the Japanese was thought by some to be a real threat. Beth Olsen of Pleasant Grove was depressed and “frightened because I felt we were vulnerable, being close to the west coast. I also felt that the steel plant, just being built, could be a target.”¹² The Utah Lake Airport manager, Merrill Christopherson, grounded all private planes on orders from the federal government. By Friday, 12 December 1941, county citizens no longer had weather reports; such information was considered “highly valuable in planning hostile aircraft action.”¹³

The outbreak of hostilities had some of its greatest effects on aliens in the county. On 9 December 1941, just two days after Pearl Harbor, County Sheriff Hall required all Japanese residents in the county to register at his office and prove citizenship. Two days later, he required that such registration be extended to Germans and Italians in the county.¹⁴ A Japanese family living in Payson, known for their lovely garden, left town several months after the start of the war. Gloria Smith Barnett recalled, “Mother said they had been taken to a camp at Topaz, Utah.”¹⁵ The Topaz Relocation Center, located near Delta, was a 17,000-acre site that opened on 11 September 1942. The population at the center rose to 8,000 people within a short time as Japanese-Americans were sent to the camp under federal regulations. Why a Utah County resident would go to Topaz is uncertain, since Japanese-Americans living away from the west coast were not required to move.

The media effectively helped create anti-Japanese sentiment. The close proximity to the west coast and the concern of attack contributed to a strong anti-Japanese feeling. Some Japanese-Americans who worked in Utah County during the war also believed that the defense workers at the Geneva Steel Mill, whose work perhaps made

them exceptionally hostile to Japan, "made it impossible [for the Japanese-Americans] to mingle with the local people."¹⁶ Whatever the circumstances, the anger was real. A teenager at the time, Jean Jorgensen Moore, recalled "the newsreels when we would all yell and jeer at the Japanese and Nazis and clap and cheer loudly when a Kamikaze plane was brought down."¹⁷

A young Japanese-American, Yukus Inouye, bought a small farm (consisting of row crops of potatoes, bulb onions, and tomatoes) on Highland Bench. Inouye and his family began life in Utah County during this period of increased tension and hostility to those of Japanese descent. One day he was cleaning a ditch in front of his house with the help of a young man he had hired. A group of three young men on their way hunting appeared on the road. Inouye and his young worker waved to greet his neighbors. He was shocked however, when they replied, "Don't wave at us or we'll shoot you, you yellow bastard!" As his face flushed with anger, he turned to see his wife and small children sitting nearby. Inouye decided at that moment he would not let his emotions control him and also decided he needed to get involved in the community so people could get to know him better. "While others went into a shell, I decided to take the initiative," he later said. Yet Inouye was cautious not to mingle with other Japanese-Americans in the county. He recalled, "We did not get together, even though the Waki family lived in Highland and several other Japanese-American families lived in lower American Fork. We felt that any association with each other would raise suspicion. We were all watched by the police and sheriff department."¹⁸ Several other Japanese families, including the Miya, Tokunaga, Hideshima, Mitarai, Nodzu, and Taciki families, lived in the county at the time.

Some forces in the county and state attempted to calm the hate and prejudice. LDS church president Heber J. Grant was alarmed at the general negative attitude of the members of the Mormon church toward these citizens. He said, "Americans who are loyal are good Americans whether their ancestors came from Great Britain or Japan. . . . Let us, therefore, endeavor to banish these foolish prejudices from our natures and let us attempt to see that all good and loyal Americans are treated as such."¹⁹ Another voice of reason during this period was that of Reverend Edwin A. Irwin of the Provo

Community Congregational Church. An active member of the community, he attempted to minister to anyone who needed or wanted his service. When Japanese-Americans were brought to a camp in the county, Irwin saw them only as his fellow brothers and sisters who deserved his love and help. He reached out to these slighted citizens during their stay and ministered to their needs. Additionally, Utah's senior senator, Elbert D. Thomas, asked county residents, Utahns throughout the state, and citizens of the nation at large to be fair in their treatment of people. Thomas had served an LDS mission to Japan and, while he was opposed to Japanese aggression, he became concerned about the more than 2,000 persons of Japanese ancestry residing in Utah.

Others in Utah County felt similarly. Also, when the first public discussion about relocation of Japanese-Americans in Utah from the west coast was at its height, an Orem man wrote the governor, "It seems to me it will be far better to let some of these people come in and do our work, thus producing food, than it will to let our work go undone, producing nothing. Some of the best and most dependable help I ever had was Japs."²⁰ Not all Japanese-Americans bound for Utah from the west coast were interned at Topaz. Some were allowed to settle in other areas. The governor placed a family on his farm in Provo and received a letter thanking him for his kindness.²¹

Even after the Topaz relocation center was established, some seasonal laborers were allowed to leave the camp and work on farms, including some in Utah County. Most of those who volunteered for such work opportunities were young. A camp, originally built to house these workers, was dedicated in Orem on 15 December 1943. The *Provo Daily Herald* reported: "Governor Maw Speaks at Official Opening of Orem Labor Camp."²² During the ceremony, the governor noted that many camps had been operating in Spanish Fork, Provo, and Orem during the preceding harvest season. This new camp, located on a sixty-acre tomato field owned by James George and Nina Vance Stratton in Orem already had housed more than sixty-five Japanese-American men and women since 5 December. All were employed at the American Fork turkey processing plant.

The reception of the Japanese-American workers in the towns and rural areas varied greatly. Ray Ekins, who operated a farm in

Provo, had several young people from Topaz live at his farm. His son, Tim Ekins recalled: "They worked hard and seemed to have a good experience. Most of them wanted to get out of the camp, so they were happy with the opportunity to come to Utah County."²³ On the other hand, some 400 workers were housed in a "tent city" in Orem. Some of them reported that the local Woolworth and Penney stores in Provo would not allow them to make purchases, some movie theaters were segregated, and some local restaurants refused to serve them.

Verbal abuse and acts of racism were occasionally followed by violent acts toward these American citizens, including some of them being stoned as they went to and from work. For example, the *Provo Daily Herald* reported, "Climaxing several acts of terrorism against Japanese-American during the past week, a group of Utah County youth, including an ex-marine, Saturday night fired a barrage of shotgun and .30-.40 caliber rifle shots in the Provo farm labor camp."²⁴ H.W. Bartlett, camp manager, testified that the shots were aimed directly at the Japanese-Americans, hitting at least one fourteen-year-old girl. In addition, the home of Japanese resident Fred Nakamura was also attacked on the same evening by youths from Orem, Pleasant View, and Pleasant Grove. Most county residents were appalled. Jean Moore's father gave his children "a lesson on justice, fair play, and reminded us that the Japanese there were American citizens as we were," she recalled.²⁵ Five youths were later arrested for terrorism, and the subsequent investigation determined that two buildings had been hit by fifteen to eighteen rounds of rifle fire.²⁶

Local leaders, both civic and religious, admonished Utah County residents to put aside prejudices, because, among other reasons, the farm labor of the Japanese-Americans provided necessary support to the successful conclusion of the war. Additionally, another group of forty county community and educational leaders adopted a resolution condemning the violence and pledging future law enforcement and "tolerant participation in the democratic spirit." Even with such support, most farm workers advised other Japanese-Americans against resettling in Utah County at the end of the war because of the Japanese-Americans' difficult experiences while working there.

Men and women volunteered for military service in large numbers. According to R.H. Smith, a recruitment officer for the U.S. Navy

in Utah County, fourteen men enlisted in one day. The army office also was reported to be “swamped.”²⁷ Army recruiters turned away many young teenagers who wanted to volunteer to fight. National and local leaders did ask certain segments of the population to remain home and help win the war on the home front. In its first edition after the Sunday morning Japanese attack, Brigham Young University’s *Y News* passed this advice along: “If he’s a senior, finish school, and then give the Japs all he’s got.”²⁸ School president Franklin S. Harris added his caution that “it is inevitable that there will be a certain amount of hysteria and the students will want to rush off and do something different than they are doing at the present time, but certainly this would be unwise. If we have ever needed sober judgment, we need it now.”²⁹ Despite the warning, school enrollment dropped from 2,900 to about 1,000 students.

A soldier’s departure for service was a sad moment. People gathered at the local depots throughout the county to say goodbye. The date of 12 April 1943 was known as “Blue Monday” after a large group of young men from the county departed in the morning and another 150 young men from BYU left later in the day. “This terrible war is sure hard on everyone . . . [with] hundreds of parents, friends, and relatives over at the Union Depot to see the boys off,” wrote Albert Jones.³⁰ Many young families were separated when fathers and husbands went into the service. When her husband was sent to the Pacific, Ruth T. Kartchner recalled: “I moved back in with my mother on 5th West [in Provo] with first child and pregnant with second.” She later joined a “sewing club,” which was more of a support group. Kartchner continued: “The common topic was where the husbands were and what they were doing. Many similar groups throughout city, typically eight or ten, constant changing as opportunities to join husbands arose.”³¹

The impact of war on service personnel was profound. Their experiences came home with them once their military service was over, and, of course, some did not return. Dean Mendenhall of Payson is reported to have been the first Utah County casualty in the war. Stationed in Kiska, Alaska, his airplane was downed by Japanese fighters. Others also died, and many were wounded or held prisoner by the enemy. Calvin William Elton, Jr., was born in Dividend and,

at nineteen, after graduating from Payson High School, joined the U.S. Army Air Corps, which became the U.S. Army Air Force in 1941.³² He was captured on 9 April 1942 at Manila in the Philippines and took part in the famous "Bataan Death March." He survived because he and two other soldiers decided to share all their water and food. The soldiers buried about fifty Americans and seventy-five Filipinos a day. Eventually, the prisoners were transferred from the Philippines to Japan, where they remained until the end of the war. While incarcerated, they worked in a coal mine.

In Europe, C. Grant Ash, of Pleasant Grove was captured by the Germans and incarcerated in Poland. He remembered getting extra nourishment when he traded the cigarettes and coffee from his Red Cross parcels for cans of milk. "I never had any difficulty trading a can of coffee for a can of milk, so I'd have two cans of milk. You can see by just that alone how much more nourishment I was getting than some other guys. We could always trade the cigarettes for somebody else's food," he related.³³ Joseph Wayne Haws, another young man from Provo, was anxious to get into the war. He wanted to get out on his own and discover the world by himself away from friends and family members. He recalled: "I was pretty confident of my freedom. One day while we were anchored in the Philippines, I was on the fan tail about to drink my first cup of coffee, mom wouldn't see, and no one knew I was Mormon." To his surprise, however, "just at my moment of weakness, here came my brother, checking up on me."³⁴

Family members and friends at home noticed how the terrors of war affected the soldiers, sailors, marines, and air corps personnel through the letters being sent back to the county. Like many Jews, Catholics, and Protestants elsewhere, some of the young Mormon boys from Utah County found God in the midst of the battlefields. Their scriptures, like those of others, became a companion to the weary and exhausted soldiers who dealt with death in ways beyond life's common experience.

Spanish Fork resident Joseph A. Olsen enlisted on 4 October 1943. He fought in some of the major battles of the Pacific, including Saipan, Tinian Island, Iwo Jima, Kerama Retto, and Ryukyn Island, and was eventually discharged from military service on 7

December 1945. Growing up in Spanish Fork had been a lot of fun for strong and inquisitive young men like Olsen. Playing practical jokes on friends and neighbors, getting in trouble by stealing some chickens, and later participating in football, basketball, and track at the local high school made life in the valley an exhilarating experience. Following high school, Olsen attended BYU in the fall of 1942 and winter of 1943 and worked on the family farm during the summer.

Olsen was needed to help on the farm, so he received a deferment from military service because farm production was considered an important wartime activity. When the 1943 summer farmwork was completed, Olsen asked his father's permission to join the armed services. With his father's consent, Olsen immediately rode his horse downtown and asked to join the U.S. Marine Corps. Following training, he left for duty in the Pacific. In a carefully detailed letter home following the battle on Iwo Jima, Olsen wrote about his experiences beginning on the Sunday before the battle while aboard ship: "I found out there was about six or eight LDS boys aboard ship so I called a little meeting. We blessed and passed the sacrament then being the one who called the meeting gave a short talk." He reflected, "I went away from there with the feeling that God was nearer to me than he had ever been before. A grand feeling to have."³⁵

On the following day, the troops made their landing on the island that became famous—Iwo Jima. "It was plenty rough. Too rough to put on paper and for some people to read about it," Olsen wrote. He described as best he could the horrors of the battle for his family back home. He noted: "There are many other things that happened on this island that will never be told to the outside world. Things that only the Marines that lived through it and hope to forget. . . . [I]t will go down in history as one of the great battles of the war. I hope it was worth what it cost to take the island." Olsen wrote the letter home on a Sunday while waiting to begin another military assault on a small island in the Pacific. He reflected deeply and wrote, "It's Sunday out here today and I have been doing a little reading. I read the book of Alma in the Book of Mormon. I really had my eyes opened as to what a wonderful message it gave to me at this time and place."³⁶ One of the distinguishing features of this section of the Book of Mormon is

its graphic description of war. Like so many others, this young soldier, so far away from his farm and family, was growing and maturing in ways he could not have in the county. Once he returned to home, Joseph Olsen became a leader in the sheep industry and played a significant role in his community.

As the war continued, more and more homes in the county displayed blue-star emblems for their family members in the service. Gold stars, representing death, replaced many of the blue ones. For some, especially children, this change from blue to gold did more than anything else to bring home the horrible reality of war. Some people were unable to accept completely the news of the death of a family member. Vernon Radmall was killed over Tokyo Bay on 13 August 1945 when his plane was attacked by two Japanese fighter planes as he attempted to pick up downed flyers. His body was never recovered, and his family did not hold a memorial service until 13 February 1946. His mother accepted a flag during the service held in the LDS Manila Ward Chapel in Pleasant Grove but she still could not accept her son's death. Mrs. Radmall finally visited the lone survivor of her son's airplane in a hospital in the southern states. The man was a paraplegic and was disfigured from the burns of the crashed plane. Having witnessed his terrible injuries for herself, according to another family member, she "let [Vernon] go as we all had to and accept it as one of the inevitable tragedies of war."³⁷ When the death count was completed, 166 county residents had been killed in the conflict. Among the dead were Fred M. Yamato, Seiei Okuma, and Haluto Moriguchi.

County residents also mourned the loss of others, including George Sutherland, former U.S. senator and U.S. Supreme Court Justice.³⁸ He was raised in Provo and began his law practice in the county before seeking political office. Appointed in September 1922 to a position on the High Court, Sutherland, reported the *Daily Herald* on 20 July 1942, was "kind and gentle as a friend, loyal to his companions. He had a host of friends in his home state and in the nation's capital who mourn his passing." The paper added its condolences to his widow and daughters and also to "his brother and sister who reside in Provo."³⁹

As America had prepared to send its armed forces abroad, it also

began to take precautions for the security of the home front. The local Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) enlisted volunteers and organized most county communities at the block level, adding such expressions as “block warden,” “blackout,” and “dim-out” to the wartime vocabulary. Volunteers studied aircraft identification silhouettes and stored sandbags, helmets, flashlights, buckets, and hoses for use in the event of an air raid. In some cases, county residents hung opaque blackout curtains in their windows and, when an alert sounded, carefully drew them and waited by candlelight or flashlight for the “all clear.” The telephone office in Payson had the windows “painted black except for four small panes in the middle. Special blinds were hung to make a total black out at the office.”⁴⁰

Air-raid wardens, looking official in their white helmets and black-and-yellow arm bands, meant business. If a light showed, the person responsible was sure to hear about it. These officials also enforced a curfew. “Gone were the games children played in the evenings,” Gloria Smith Barnett recalled. “The curfew was to be in your home at 9:00 P.M. sharp, with lights out at 10:00 P.M. A total black out was observed at night so planes could not see where to drop bombs.”⁴¹ All across America, civilian defense seemed to be an area where Americans anxious to help could participate in the war effort. OCD volunteers also organized block projects, explained government programs, sold war savings stamps, surveyed housing needs, recruited for the armed forces and for industry, distributed anti-black-market pledges, encouraged victory gardens and salvage campaigns, and performed many other useful services.

The most important way that county residents contributed to the war effort was by the production of important goods needed in that effort. Utah County, like the state itself, had several beneficial attributes. First, the area provided safety from attack by enemy forces. Second, the open spaces available made training operations attractive. Third, the Wasatch Front region was excellent for logistical support operations, being almost equidistant from the major west coast ports. Fourth, the state’s rich natural resources were quite accessible. Finally, Utah also provided a well-educated and highly patriotic labor force.

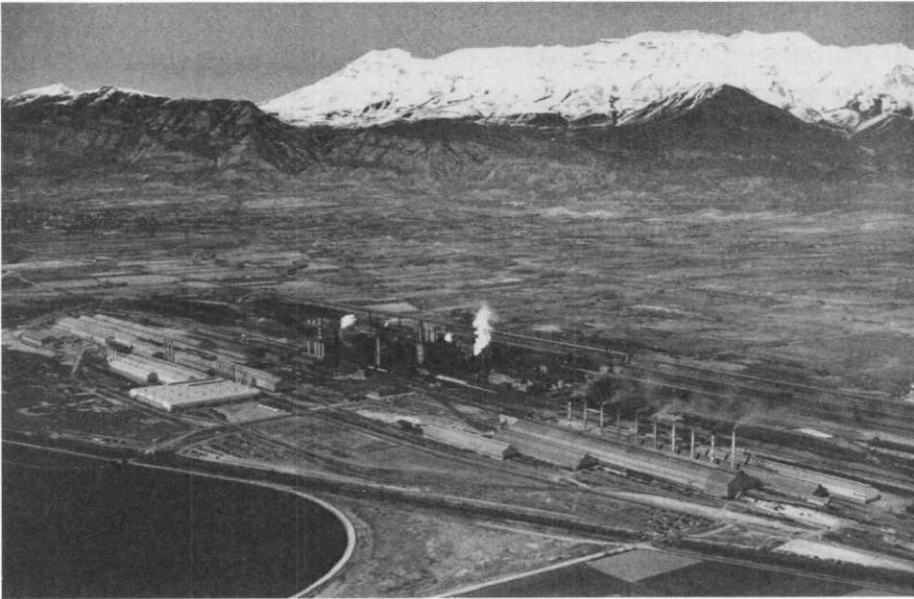
Two facilities in the county played significant roles in the war

effort—Camp Williams, established in 1928, and Geneva Steel Works, established in 1944. Geneva, located near Orem, was by far the largest and most important defense-related industry developed in Utah during the war. Financed by the federal government, it cost \$200 million dollars. Columbia Steel Company and U.S. Steel Corporation employed more than 10,000 workers to build the plant, which was under construction from November 1941 through December 1944. The close proximity of necessary natural resources, including coal in Carbon County, iron ore in Iron County, limestone and dolomite near Genola, and water from Deer Creek Reservoir and on-site artesian wells, made the location on the shore of Utah Lake desirable. In addition, the plant site was adjacent to major railroad lines.

Workers were needed, however. A large group of people came into the county to work and sometimes presented some unique challenges to the basically homogenous white Mormon-dominated population. For example, a group of African-Americans from Denver arrived to work at the site. Geneva built barracks for them and others who came to work without their families. Dick Anderson, local labor representative at Geneva during this period, remembered: "There weren't any colored people in this area. . . . That was one bad problem we had. They [store owners] refused to wait on them uptown [Provo]." These workers felt they should have been treated fairly because they were loyal Americans doing their part for the war effort. In fact, at least one of them had been wounded in battle as he fought against the Japanese. Anderson remembered:

One of them . . . came to me and he said: "Anderson, I want to show you something." The man then pulled up his pant leg and showed Anderson a severe wound. The man then said, "That was done in this war. . . . I can cut my finger and my blood run down that table just the same as yours. But yet I can't spend a United States dollar in your store up here. Two clerks walked away and left me standing there. Tell me why." Without community cooperation to remedy the situation, a few courageous people set up a store at the old Geneva resort so these men could buy things.⁴²

To attract additional laborers, Geneva began running advertisements in local papers and in the papers in Salt Lake County. One ad



The Geneva Works of the Columbia-Geneva Steel Division, United States Steel Corporation, was the West's largest integrated steel operation during the 1940s and 1950s. Established in 1944, Geneva is located near Orem and was the largest and most important defense-related industry developed in Utah during World War II. (Utah State Historical Society)

noted that 2,000 laborers, machinists, and millwrights were needed at the facility.⁴³ The *Provo Daily Herald* informed local residents that a recruiter from Geneva would be at the Provo employment office to hire "farmers and any other unemployed male workers on 26 October 1944."⁴⁴ Farmers were assured they would be allowed to take time off for farmwork. Women, though not heavily recruited, also found opportunities for work. A high proportion (90 percent) of the women working at the facility had husbands working at the plant. Some 613 women were hired at Geneva between 1 January 1944 and 5 September 1945.

A few days after the ads were run, more than a hundred laborers from Jamaica and twenty Native Americans arrived in Provo to begin work. Despite difficulties obtaining an adequate work force, work at the plant moved ahead; by the end of 1944 the plant opened. Geneva operated for only two years as a U.S. government facility, however.

When operating at maximum capacity, it employed 4,200 workers. Its primary production item was plate steel (producing 634,010 tons) and shaped steel (144,280 tons) for the west coast wartime ship-building industry.

To achieve national goals set by President Roosevelt, the War Production Board (WPB) was set up to coordinate the personnel, equipment, facilities, raw materials, and industrial information involved in the tremendous wartime effort. A shortage of workers affected all aspects of the economy in Utah County as elsewhere. One solution to the problem was the opening of previously male-only positions to women. Single women, widows, housewives, and women whose husbands were away at war responded in great numbers. The presence of women usually improved working conditions for everyone through the establishment of better cafeterias and cleaner restrooms, labor-saving lifts, and increased safety precautions. The shortage of workers in the county also resulted in the hiring of some children under the age of sixteen in contravention of child-labor laws. For most youngsters, employment took the form of farm work and jobs in drugstores, restaurants, or dime stores that had been vacated by adults now working in the defense industry.

As Americans followed employment opportunities, Utah County housed a more transient society than previously. The county experienced sudden and large growth. Many residents of the county left for military service as soldiers, sailors, airmen, and support personnel. Frequently, such service meant leaving the country; for many others, however, it meant moving only a few hours away. Hill Air Force Base, established in 1940, became the largest employer in the state, supporting some 15,000 civilians and 6,000 military personnel.

In response to the influx of new people, the LDS church formed a "Defense Workers Committee" in several counties in Utah, including Utah County. Mormon church leaders from the county's ecclesiastical areas (Alpine, Kolob, Lehi, Nebo, Palmyra, Provo, Sharon, Timpanogos, and Utah LDS stakes) met with Apostle John A. Widstoe on 22 September 1942 to "obtain facts regarding member and non-member newcomers," "determine how best to aid and give guidance to newcomers who are [LDS] church members," "make contact with the newcomers who are not members of the church,"

and “ascertain recreational needs of soldiers and defense workers who are members.”⁴⁵ Widstoe cautioned local church leaders in Utah County to show “genuine kindness” and to use “skill and tact” with an “absence of tactless fanaticism” as they began their canvassing. Additionally, he wanted them to be sensitive to the sleeping schedules of shift workers and he also warned church representatives not to “force information from those unwilling to give it, but note should be made of their desires, so that they may not be given further annoyance.”⁴⁶

The reports collected by the LDS church are helpful in determining the nature of the population shifts during this period. Records indicate that a large number of people (both LDS and non-LDS) from Idaho, California, Nevada, and Oregon moved into the county. Additionally, non-Mormons from almost every other state were noted in the survey as having taken up residence in the county.

The most obvious problem associated with this influx of new residents was finding adequate housing for them. Brookside subdivision in Springville was constructed—beginning in 1943 but built mostly in 1945—in response to the housing shortage. Provo’s population increased from 18,071 in 1940 to 23,500 in January 1943—largely as a result of construction at Geneva. Everyone in the county was asked to take in people if room was available. Gloria Smith Barnett remembered that her family in Payson “made an apartment in the basement” of their home. The first renters were a family consisting of Joe Carr, his wife, and a small infant. She recalled that Carr kidded the Smith children, telling them that his real name was Joseph Automobile, “but it was too long so he shortened it to Joe Carr.”⁴⁷

With fathers and older brothers in uniform and mothers working, children were cared for by friends or grandparents; some simply fended for themselves. With no day-care facilities, mothers left their children wherever they could, providing as stable an environment as possible under the circumstances. Robert Carter, born in 1939, moved with his family from Richfield, Utah, to Utah County when his father obtained employment at Geneva. Carter recalled: “I remember that my father was so busy working in the war effort, working such long hours, that I didn’t see him many hours during the day. . . . The most vivid thing in my memory is his act of leaving

some little tidbit from his lunch in his lunch bucket for me to find after his return home in the evening. I looked forward to that!”⁴⁸

The shortage of workers in Utah County also allowed some residents to become closely associated with German prisoners of war (POWs). These POWs filled a void in the farm labor market for several years during the war. The Japanese-American farm labor camp in Orem, was changed to a POW camp in the spring of 1944. After the Japanese-Americans were moved, Italian POWs built a tall fence and guard tower in anticipation of the site being occupied by German POWs. The reconverted camp consisted of a large compound—a mess and kitchen area, a boiler area with showers and latrines, and several military barracks. The perimeter featured a barbed-wire fence and a guard tower at each corner. For activity, the POWs used a soccer field located south of the camp.⁴⁹

Donald Q. Cannon, a young man living in Salt Lake City, often visited his grandfather’s farm in Provo. Charles Henry and Cosette Brown Allred had a fifty-acre farm that included a few dairy cows and some sheep. The orchard was composed mainly of apple and pear trees, and prisoners worked in the orchard. Cannon recalled, “I would ride with my uncle to pick up the prisoners. They would bring ten to twelve and put them in the back of the truck.” Apparently, one of the U.S. soldiers in charge was very angry with Cannon’s uncle when the uncle let the young boy ride in the back of the truck with the POWs. “He was afraid I might get shot if the guard who came with us had to shoot one of the Germans,” he recalled. Cannon enjoyed the experience, however, and talked with those who could speak some English. The POWs “seemed to be very up-beat for someone in that position. My grandfather had them doing reasonable work.” Cannon felt that a friendship had developed with many of the prisoners: “they recognized me and treated me very kindly and were always gracious. I was comfortable with them. My father had served an LDS Church mission in Germany so I was interested in them.”⁵⁰ Most of the POWs living in Utah County probably had a reasonably good experience, and they helped complete work needed during this time of labor scarcity.

School children in the county generally were very patriotic. They kept war maps, proudly displayed bits of uniforms, wore unit patches



German Prisoners of War at an Orem orchard in 1945. (Beatrice Gappmayer Pyne)

on their sleeves, read comic books such as “Spy Smasher,” “GI Joe,” or “Don Winslow of the Navy,” and used their allowances to buy ten- and twenty-five-cent defense stamps. Students took part in school air-raid drills, crouching beneath desks in the approved fashion until

the “all-clear” buzzer sounded. Young patriots picked streets, backyards, and attics clean of paper, tinfoil, rubber, iron, and tin cans for scrap drives.

The war and the consequent needs of the military and defense industry caused shortages of hundreds of ordinary items, ranging from batteries and lawnmowers to baby pins, diapers, and soap. Paper matchbooks vanished; so too did zippers, only recently introduced in clothing. Mildred B. Sutch, originally from Pleasant Grove, had moved to Carbon County before the war. In 1942 she returned to Utah County when her husband went to work on the construction of the Geneva Steel plant. She recalled standing in lines for “nylon stockings, Christmas tree lights, sugar, [and] meat.” She continued, “Many items were in short supply and we simply went without a lot of things.”⁵¹

The federal government established the Office of Price Administration (OPA) in April 1941 to oversee the marketplace so that goods in short supply could, through rationing, be made available to consumers on an equitable basis and so that prices could be regulated to prevent runaway inflation. As prices increased, some residents had a difficult time believing that the government was controlling the prices. Will Jones noted: “Small fruits are terribly high and green vegetables in the store are high also, everything you buy is very expensive. The government talks about ceiling prices. I can not see where they have curtailed the prices of commodities the least bit. It is sure a terrible state of affairs every one is taking advantage of the war conditions.”⁵²

The OPA began by controlling raw materials used in manufacturing; it later expanded rationing to many consumer goods. On the local level, the OPA was represented by a ration board staffed by volunteers. The board issued “War Ration Book One” to consumers in May 1942. The ration stamps in each book represented “points” that were needed to buy restricted items. Each individual received sixty-four red stamps (for meat, fish, and dairy products) and forty-eight blue stamps (for processed foods) each month. The number of points needed for a particular product varied with the scarcity of goods. Applesauce, for example, required ten blue points or stamps in March 1943; yet it required twenty-five points just twelve months later.

Grapefruit juice, during the same period, went from twenty-three blue points to just four.

Families faced the difficult task of trying to make the best use of ration stamps by finding a store that stocked the items needed and getting to the store with the right number and kind of stamps necessary. Jones noted on 16 January 1943, for example, “Food ration is getting more serious everyday. I could not buy Beef at the Market this afternoon first time in my life.”⁵³ People swapped items for gas stamps, and sugar, the first item rationed, remained scarce until 1946. Each person was permitted to buy eight ounces of sweetener a week, but grocers often did not have sugar in stock, causing families to find substitutes in saccharin, corn syrup, honey, or molasses. Meat rationing began on 29 March 1943 when each person was allowed twenty-five ounces per week. The number of points required varied with the type of meat and cut, as well as with its availability. Butter was especially precious. A half pound, when a person could get it, might cost a week’s supply of red stamps.

Probably the biggest inconvenience caused by rationing on the home front came with restrictions placed on the use of Americans’ beloved automobiles. On 2 February 1942 the last wartime civilian automobile (a Ford) authorized by the OPA came off a Detroit assembly line. Americans also had to make their tires last, and cars had to last longer than they had before the war. Rubber, a product of many of the territories occupied by Japan and vitally important for tires for both military and civilian vehicles, was especially scarce. Albert Jones noted, “Trying to get tires fixed up, just can not be done, and tires for cars can not be had, in fact many articles are getting scarce.” The scarcity of such items helped bring the realities of war to the home front. Jones concluded his journal entry for the day: “We sure are in the war and no fooling, it looks very serious at present.”⁵⁴

A speed limit of thirty-five miles per hour was enacted to save wear and tear on tires, and a massive scrap drive began to recycle used rubber. Eventually, a synthetic rubber was developed, easing the shortage. The unpopular notion of gasoline rationing to cut down on automobile use was introduced in certain areas as early as the spring of 1942 and nationally on 1 December of that year. In an effort to support the war effort, LDS church officials asked members not to

attend the April 1942 conference in Salt Lake City, thus helping save gasoline and wear and tear on vehicles. Instead, only the church's general authorities, stake presidents, and mission presidents (some five hundred men) assembled in the historic Tabernacle on Temple Square. The services were broadcast over the radio to serve church members.

Gasoline rationing ended on 15 August 1945. Before that time, each car and truck was assigned a colored sticker emblazoned with a large letter to be affixed to the windshield. The letter indicated the quantity of gasoline the vehicle's driver could buy each week. An "A" sticker, the one most Utah County residents received, authorized the purchase of from three to five gallons per week; "B" stickers went to war workers, entitling them to exactly as much gasoline as they needed to get back and forth to work. Those who required automobiles for their jobs but could not estimate precisely how much driving they would have to do (doctors, church leaders, and telegram deliverers, for example) were issued a "C" sticker. Almost unlimited fuel went to emergency vehicles with "E" stickers, trucks marked with a "T," and a few civilians who qualified for an "X" sticker. No sticker, however, could guarantee that any gasoline would be available for purchase. Long lines of automobiles could often be seen trailing a gas delivery truck to its destination.

County officers enforced the regulations. Will Jones, for example, recalled that he received a ticket while attending the annual Pioneer Day celebration on 24 July 1943 in Provo "for not having \$5.00 federal auto stamp in windshield for [a] car that I had bought some time previous."⁵⁵ The need to conserve rubber, fuel, and metals also affected commercial transportation. Travel by airline was not an option for those not in uniform. Also, with increased pressure on buses and trains, comfort while traveling became a distant memory. It was nothing to have to sit on a suitcase or stand for an eight-hour trip. To save electricity, all county residents turned their clocks ahead one hour on 2 February 1942, putting the county on War Time. Fuel-oil and coal rationing cut consumption for heating by one-third, as people at home donned sweaters in the evening, went to bed early, and set their thermostats at sixty-five degrees.

By February 1943 clothing was becoming scarce. Each person

was allowed two pairs of shoes a year; but most families pooled stamps to buy shoes for growing children. As a further means of combating shortages of rubber, paper, and critical metals, county residents held scrap drives. Children turned in masses of tinfoil, tin cans, and old overshoes (scrap rubber was worth a penny a pound at most gas stations). To increase the nation's food supply, county residents cultivated "victory gardens" wherever the ground could accommodate them. Throughout Utah County, young and old grew vegetables in home gardens so farm production could go to the armed forces and to American allies. In the evenings after work and on the weekends many people planted, weeded, and worked in their small gardens.

County residents also helped to finance the war. A surcharge of 5 percent, dubbed a "victory tax," was added to each wage earner's federal income tax. To put more funds immediately at the government's disposal, employers were required to withhold taxes from workers' pay rather than allow them to make a single payment each March. In addition to helping the national treasury, these measures cut down on individual spending and thus helped prevent inflation from getting out of control—a real danger during such an economic boom.

To further reduce the enormous debt incurred by the nation during the war, the government began the sale of war bonds. Sold in denominations ranging from \$25 (the ten-year maturity value on the \$18.75 purchase price) to \$10,000, the bonds brought \$135 billion into the national treasury. War heroes, entertainers, and other popular figures on the home front helped to sell the bonds. At one point, the comedy team of Abbott and Costello came to Utah and stopped by the City and County Building in Provo to help sell bonds.⁵⁶ Vice President Harry Truman also visited the county in an effort to keep support for the war going. Hundreds of troops and five army bands marched through the county seat on 16 September 1943 in an effort to raise support for a war-bond drive.

The media and entertainment industry played an important role in keeping Utah County residents informed and in a positive frame of mind during the war years. In June 1942 President Roosevelt created the Office of War Information (OWI), charging it to "Tell the

people as much about the war as possible, as fast as possible, and with as few contradictions as possible.” There was a lot of home-grown propaganda in the media’s offerings, but reports from the battlefield generally were accurate and reached the public quickly. President Roosevelt used radio in a series of “fireside chats” to keep people informed about the war’s progress. Local newspapers in the county also carried news of the war in each edition. Both Lehi newspapers published a “With Our Soldiers” column and printed the latest patriotic slogans. “Let’s Go—To Tokyo,” rhymed one. Comic-strip characters that appeared in the newspapers also went to war. The movie industry provided films with both recreational and propaganda value as well as military and industrial training films. Ramona Hamilton Rust recalled, “We loved to go to the war movies and we loved the songs and music that the war generated.”⁵⁷ Music was a major source of enjoyment and comfort to war-weary Americans. There were many patriotic songs, including “Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition.”

Despite the war, sports remained popular on the home front. Utah County diarist Will Jones noted: “Rose-Bowl foot ball game was played at Durham, North Carolina instead of Pasadena, Calif. on account of the war condition on the Pacific coast. Oregon State 20=Duke 16.”⁵⁸ On another occasion, Jones recorded what must have been a happy occasion for many county residents: “The BYU foot ball team wins over the University of Utah 12 to 7. ‘Some game’ after 21 years of Foot ball wars. Beautiful day 10,000 at the game.”⁵⁹

Local high school sports also remained popular. Payson played Mt. Pleasant in BYU stadium for the Class B football state championship on 4 December 1943. A large crowd witnessed a great effort from both teams; the game ended in a 19 to 19 tie. The largest crowd in Provo baseball history watched its team go down to defeat against Magna in the Industrial League championship on 20 September 1944.

As the war drew to a close, more and more living-room windows in Utah County displayed service flags. Now, however, because so many Western Union messengers had delivered telegrams beginning, “The War Department regrets to inform you . . .,” many of the blue stars had been replaced by gold. Ramona Hamilton of Spanish Fork

remembered the “utter terror going through the family when they heard a knock at the door, fearing that it was a Western Union messenger.”⁶⁰ By the spring of 1945, county residents realized the war would soon be over; but it was too soon to celebrate. On 12 April, residents were stunned to learn that President Roosevelt was dead, having suffered a massive cerebral hemorrhage while at the “Little White House” near Warm Springs, Georgia. Albert Jones noted in his diary, “A terrible blow to the United States and the peace-loving people of all the world. My heart is full of sorrow in the passing of this great man.”⁶¹

The news flashed across the country. Businesses closed. Theaters emptied. Traffic slowed to a halt. All military units in the country were put on alert. For three days and nights, radio programming was suspended, except for news broadcasts and religious music. Less than a month later, on 8 May 1945, Germany officially surrendered, ending the war in Europe. The news touched off a frenzied celebration in the United States.

A few months later, on the other side of the world, Japan was about to surrender. On 5 August 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. Albert Jones wrote, “It sure raised hell, no fooling.”⁶² Not all county residents reacted this way, however; Marilyn M. Washburn believed it was “the most inhuman thing ever.”⁶³ On 14 August, Japan conceded defeat. Three years, eight months, and seven days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the war was over—at a cost of more than a million American casualties. Celebration in Utah County was massive. After a long vigil, thousands of people crammed the sidewalks and streets of the downtown Provo area as the celebration lasted into the night, and automobiles that had not seen the streets in months were driven again. Students at BYU lit the “V” part of the block “Y” on the mountain.⁶⁴

Most businesses, except restaurants and grocery stores, closed for two days in a “victory holiday.” Events scheduled for the celebration of the surrender included a torchlight parade through downtown Provo, a burning in effigy of Axis war criminals, and a street dance. Another large celebration was held at Payson Memorial Park. One young woman remembered: “I suppose there were many wonderful speeches made that day, but the things I remember the most were the

songs that were sung: God Bless America and The Star Spangled Banner. I had chills going up and down my spine as I listened to these songs and saw people all around me crying tears of joy for the war's end."⁶⁵ Churches throughout the county held special thanksgiving services, and Orem highlighted the celebration with a lamb barbecue outside the city hall.

At the conclusion of the conflict in 1945, the surviving soldiers, sailors, and airmen came home. Home-front emergency defense organizations were disbanded, and people tried to put their lives back together. However, no one could go back to the days before the war. George R. Blake commented: "The quiet rural serenity of Vineyard, the community I grew up in, was shattered. The influx of workers changed the make-up of the old families that had given the community a feeling of security and stability."⁶⁶ The war, which had eradicated the last vestiges of the Great Depression and marked the United States as an economic and military superpower, led to a variety of changes that fundamentally affected the cultural and political life of the county. Population shifts, societal alterations, transformation of cultural patterns, and a host of other subtle changes recast Utah County from an isolated farming region to a highly progressive industrial region.

ENDNOTES

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8. George R. Black to Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 25 September 1994, in author's possession.
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28. *Y News*, December 1941.
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33. Cecil Grant Ash, interview, as cited in *ibid.*, 4.

34. Joseph Wayne Haws, interview with Krista Haws, 8 November 1992, transcript in author's possession.

35. Pfc. Joseph A. Olsen to Joseph M. Olsen, 26 March 1945, in private possession; courtesy of Carma Marie Stewart Olsen, Spanish Fork, Utah.

36. Ibid.

37. Beth Radmall Olsen, "Vernon Reuben Radmall, World War II," unpublished manuscript, in author's possession.

38. George Sutherland was born in England on 25 March 1862 and immigrated with his parents to Utah in 1863. See chapter six for more information about him. A conservative, he did support some progressive legislation, including a Utah law for an eight-hour work day in the mining and smelting industries.

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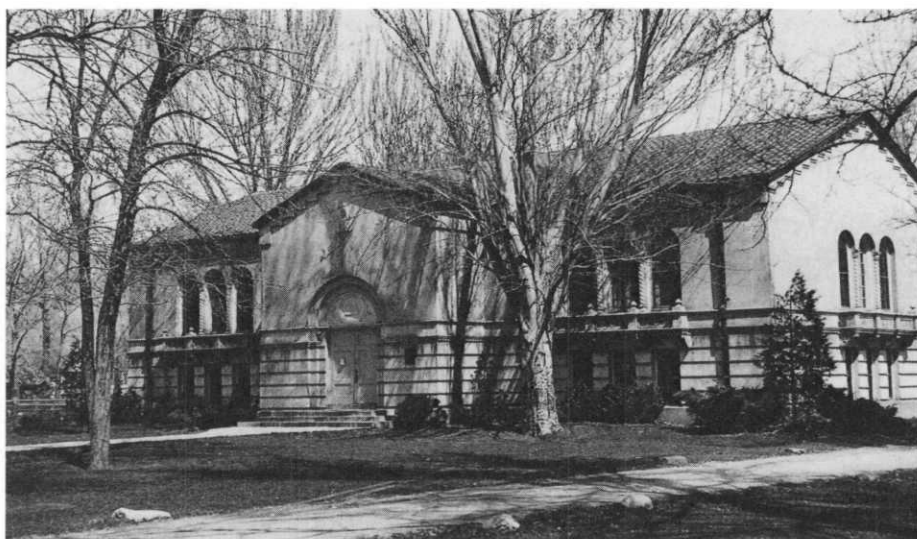
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CHAPTER 12

IN THE WAKE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION, 1945–1960

The Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP), an organization dedicated “to perpetuate the names and achievements of the men, women, and children who were the pioneers in founding [Utah],” have for decades gone about their work by “preserving old landmarks, marking historical places, collecting artifacts and history, establishing a library . . . and securing manuscripts, photographs, maps, and all such data” that would help memorialize the pioneer past.¹ Numerous local groups, identified as camps, have been established throughout the Intermountain West.

Utah County members of the DUP not only helped generate funds for the organization’s museum in Salt Lake City but also gathered information for a Utah County history, *Memories That Live: Utah County Centennial History*, published in Springville in 1947 in honor of the Mormon pioneer centennial. Emma N. Huff, DUP county historian and editor of the project, noted that a branch of the DUP was “first organized in Provo March 29, 1911.” By 1947 the membership in the county had grown to some 2,000 women, who were affiliated in forty-five camps.²



Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Memorial Museum, Provo. Members of the DUP stimulated interests in gathering pioneer histories, family records and preserving artifacts and historic buildings. The Memorial Museum was built through the cooperative efforts of the Provo City, the Daughters and Sons of the Utah Pioneers and the Works Progress Administration in 1935–37. (Utah State Historical Society)

Dale L. Morgan supervised the publication of *Utah: A Guide to the State* in 1941.³ It was a landmark publication and became a local model for guidebooks and for good writing. Information was gathered and written with federal assistance (the Utah Writers' Project) during the Great Depression, and some of the best writers in the state participated in the project.

Both books are important sources of Utah County history and life, though decades have come and gone since their release in the 1940s. These two books also present important information to help anyone understand the dramatic changes that occurred in the county in the wake of industrialization. For example, when *Utah: A Guide to the State* appeared, Utah Valley was a rather tranquil area with a population of some 60,000 inhabitants. Communities were separate and distinct—the majority of them strung out along U.S. Highway 91. Agriculture was still the most important economic industry, BYU enrolled about 2,800 students, and Geneva Steel Works was barely

under consideration. The snowy summits of the giant peaks could be seen with crisp clarity during most days of the year.

In the two decades between the outbreak of the war in 1941 and 1960, the county was transformed. The shattered economy of the 1930s had been replaced with a new economic model by 1941, and the world war then brought the county out of the Depression. In late 1945, however, as the federal government began to demobilize its war efforts, the new economy seemed about to collapse. Utah County's most important government facility, Geneva Steel, had greatly reduced its output by August 1945, and the government began soliciting buy-out offers from steel manufacturers. In June 1946 Geneva was purchased by U.S. Steel for three-quarters of its construction cost, keeping the facility open for business and ensuring continued work opportunities for many residents. Additionally, ancillary industries that had been established, such as fabricating plants, welding companies, sheet-metal works, machine factories, and even other steel companies, stayed in the region, and new related industries developed, helping the county's economy.

Soldiers and service personnel returning from the war looked for jobs, and many took advantage of the G.I. Bill, which extended higher-education opportunities to military veterans, filling BYU with students. Leadership Week at BYU, a long-standing tradition in Utah County, was canceled, as the adult-education program had no room on campus because of the large enrollment of former military personnel at the school. Mildred Sutch of Pleasant Grove recalled that her husband entered an apprenticeship in a class "sponsored by U.S. Steel and became a journeyman boilermaker" through the Provo Vocational School. She noted that county residents had difficulty getting good jobs before the war but that things had changed following the war. She continued: "Young married people were able to buy a home through the Veterans Administration—we purchased ours in 1946. Life became good as veterans returned and settled into normal living. Our city flourished."⁴

Not everyone returning to the county came back as a result of demobilization. The out-migration that characterized the 1920s and 1930s had left some people far away from family and friends. Sometimes, financial reversals in the newfound lands of promise

forced these pilgrims to look homeward. Stella Harris Oaks was raised on a farm between Payson and Spring Lake. Following her courtship and marriage, she left the valley when her husband, Lloyd Oaks, went to attend medical school in the East. After medical school, the couple decided to strike out on their own and establish a practice in Twin Falls, Idaho. The future bode well for the small family, now including three children (Dallin, Merrill, and Evelyn). Tragically, Lloyd Oaks died in 1940, leaving a widow with three children to support. Eventually, in 1948, Stella Oaks decided to return to Utah County in an effort to provide the advantages of a college education to her maturing children and work opportunities on the family farm during the summer, with grandfather Silas Harris as a role model for the children. Oaks secured a job with the Provo City School District in charge of the adult-education programs and public relations. She returned to the county to find support and strength; but, through her own contributions, she gave back to the community much more.

Stella Oaks's service to Provo and Utah County was exemplary. She not only served on the Provo City Council from 1956 to 1960 but also served as assistant mayor. An important and prominent member of the community, Oaks played a significant role championing the cause of the aged and the physically and mentally disabled members of the community. She frankly admitted and talked about her own struggles with depression and health problems following the death of her husband, and she fought for those who often found themselves isolated and neglected by the system.

Other local residents and returning service personnel also began to adjust to the changes that occurred in their homes, neighborhoods, communities, and nation following the war. For some, the changes they observed were not always to their liking, and such individuals felt they should be involved in making changes that would benefit the lives of their fellow citizens. Verl Grant Dixon came back to Provo in 1945 from military service and began attending political mass meetings. He recalled, "After I got home from the war there were a lot of things, I thought, that needed to be changed. . . . People needed to start voicing their feelings and taking part."⁵ He was elected district chairman and then precinct chairman, becoming in the process a member of the Utah County Central Committee of the

Republican party. George Collard, at the time Republican party chairman of Utah County, asked Dixon to run for office. Such requests were not simple because of the particularly difficult “time getting someone to run against the people who were in. . . . All over the country the Democrats were in power.” The same was true of Utah County.

Collard gathered key Republicans in the county together and told them that if someone did not file to run he would assign them to do so. Collard then assigned James Cope of Spanish Fork to file for county assessor, Richard Maxfield of Provo to file for county attorney, and Dixon to file for county clerk. Surprisingly, Cope and Dixon were elected in the November 1946 race. This election was just the beginning of Dixon’s career in local politics. After serving four years as county clerk, he was elected as county commissioner from 1950 to 1958 and later served as Provo’s mayor for three terms after winning the 1960 election. Dixon helped the Republicans gain strength in Utah County.

A stunning reversal of fortunes occurred when the Republicans won the midterm victory nationally in the 1946 races.⁶ In addition to Dixon’s and Cope’s victories, Republican Senate candidate and Orem attorney, farmer, and judge Arthur W. Watkins unseated Abe Murdock with a solid majority in Utah County, and Republican candidate William Adams Dawson defeated incumbent James William Robinson (former Utah County attorney and congressman since 1932) for the Second Congressional District seat. In fact, the *Daily Herald* reported that only two Utah County offices—sheriff and county attorney—were held by Democrats. Additionally, only the state representative in the fourth legislative district was not a Republican; Democrat Maurice Anderson ran unopposed.

The Republican swing in the county extended to justice of the peace in Spanish Fork, Payson, Orem, and Lehi. The only two Democratic winners ran unopposed, in Springville and Provo. It was “the greatest local victory since 1926,” according to the news report. Collard stated, “We exceeded our fondest hopes in Utah county.” The reason for the victory was that “people are tired of too much government regimentation,” Collard argued.⁷

The Republican fortunes proved only temporary, however. In



View of the presidents of the LDS Church Utah Stake, West Utah Stake, Provo Stake, and East Provo Stake shoveling weeds on 29 July 1948 on a local welfare farm. (LDS Church Archives)

1948, the *Daily Herald* headlines declared: "County Turns Democratic in Election." Following national and statewide trends, county residents voted for Harry Truman over Thomas E. Dewey for president. Among the local winners was Reva Beck Bosone of American Fork, who defeated Republican incumbent William Dawson with a plurality in Utah County and then made history by becoming Utah's first woman congressional representative. Additionally, Democrats J. Clark Elmer of Payson defeated county commission chairman George A. Cheever of Payson. Burton H. Adman of Pleasant Grove won the two-year commission post from Republican Merrill N. Warnick, also of Pleasant Grove. Winning county legislators were Ernest Dean over Dean Evans, LeGrand Jarman over Mrs. J.D. Pyne, Mrs. Lloyd L. Cullimore over Mrs. Fern Ercanbrack, Maurice Anderson over A.O. Thorn, and Henry Roberts over Glen Cowan.

The following year, however, some county residents blamed President Truman and the Democrats for the fall of China to communism in 1949. This thinking gave a boost to McCarthyism—named for zealous anticommunist Senator Joseph McCarthy—a

period punctuated with Cold War paranoia and strong anticommunist feelings. Often, unscrupulous individuals branded their opponents as communists or communist sympathizers. Anticommunist sentiment helped Republican Wallace F. Bennett defeat U.S. Senator Elbert D. Thomas (who had won solid majorities in Utah County during the 1932, 1938, and 1944 elections). Bennett's supporters smeared Thomas in the 1950 election, labeling him a communist supporter and bringing a close to his productive career. Liberal Democrat Reva Beck Bosone, however, held her seat in Congress, defeating her Republican challenger in each county of the district.

In 1954 Bosone ran against now-incumbent Dawson in a bitter race. In a whisper campaign, Bosone was smeared with false charges, including a charge of bigotry. After a meeting of the Women's Legislative Council of Utah County, an anonymous caller told a Jewish rabbi that Bosone had devoted her speech to attacking Jews. Additionally, others falsely accused her of being an alcoholic and said her son had been committed to a Provo sanitarium for the same problem. She did not have a son, and no evidence exists that she had a drinking problem. In this election, former Provo School District superintendent Henry Aldous Dixon won the First Congressional seat after entering the race with only sixteen days left in the campaign when Republican incumbent Douglas R. Stringfellow withdrew.

The 1956 elections kept Bennett and Dawson in office as the Republicans continued to dominate county, state, and national politics. Utah County, like the rest of the state, voted solidly for Dwight D. Eisenhower in the presidential race. In the gubernatorial race, Utah County voted for George Dewey Clyde (a Springville High School graduate) in a colorful three-way race among Clyde, Democrat L.C. Romney, and Independent J. Bracken Lee.

Utah experienced a recession in 1958, which impacted the mid-term election that year. Democratic senatorial candidate Frank E. "Ted" Moss defeated Watkins, and Democratic congressional candidate David S. King defeated incumbent Dawson, both winning a plurality in the county. Additionally, some citizens in the county attempted to change the very nature of local government during this period of growth and expansion. Provo debated the advantages and disadvantages of a new form of city government under a council-

manager charter. In a special election on 8 August 1955, the voters supported the proposed changes and, on 3 January 1956, Harold E. Van Wagenen became mayor under the new system, which included six council members: Frank Killpack, George E. Collard, Marion Hinckley, Stella Harris Oaks, Roy Passey, and Philip Perlman.

Politically active, Verl H. Dixon supported a return to the commission form of government (which had been in operation since 1911) and was elected in 1961 as the city's mayor. As a result of the repeal of the council-manager charter, Dixon worked with W. Smoot Brimhall and Luke Clegg as commissioners beginning in January 1962.

Although local issues fueled political debate in the county, international events also played a part. Just after World War II concluded, Winston Churchill warned the world that an "Iron Curtain" had fallen over central and eastern Europe, signaling the end of the post-war partnership of the Allied powers in 1946. The resulting Cold War between the western powers and their former ally the Soviet Union cast its long, dark shadow across the world. After the Russians gained the technology to produce atomic bombs, local fear of an attack by the Russians caused some residents in the county to convert their basements into bomb shelters and to maintain a two-week supply of food, water, medical supplies, and other emergency necessities. Young Clyde Williams recalled: "I remember being told about underground bomb shelters in some of the city buildings and I remember our neighbor next door built an underground shelter."⁸ Most residents of the period remember huddling under their desks in mock air-raid drills while attending school. Utah National Guard armories were constructed in the county during this period of Cold War politics at Provo (1954), American Fork (1956), Springville (1956), and Lehi (1958).⁹

During this period, factories that manufactured products from Utah's farms and mines helped the county economy. The canning industry, along with the flour rolling mill and the sugar-beet and dairy industries, had long formed cornerstones of Utah's agricultural community. Utah County's canning companies sent their products to consumers' tables throughout the West. In Springville, the output at the Eddington factory in 1947 was significant: the factory

processed 71,816 cases of peas, 81,025 cases of corn, 39,527 cases of tomatoes, and 16,005 cases of various other kinds of products. Related industries also thrived during this period. In Payson, for example, a new carrot-processing plant was established in 1955 utilizing a 640-acre farm in Elberta to raise carrots.

In the nonagricultural industries, Geneva continued to produce steel. In the decade from 1940 to 1950, Utah County experienced nearly a 43 percent increase in population, primarily due to Geneva and related industries. During this same decade, seventeen of Utah's twenty-nine counties experienced a loss of population, indicating a significant shift of population within the state. Additionally, the impact of industrialization in Utah County is demonstrated by the number of men employed in the county, which increased by 83 percent from 1940 to 1950. The number of employed females increased 166 percent during the same period.¹⁰

With the rapid increase of labor in nonagricultural industries in the county, labor organizers began a systematic effort to establish a solid base for unions. Local union organizer Dick Anderson recalled: "I worked on different jobs in Provo trying to raise a family. I worked as low as thirty-five cents an hour and I couldn't make a living at that. So fifteen of us here in town got together and decided we would organize and set up a labor union."¹¹ The small group invited the Utah state president of the American Federation of Labor to come to Anderson's home in Provo in April 1938 to help them organize a union in the county. Originally, fourteen people joined the union, and the membership soon grew to about twenty-five. Some felt they should disband the local and merge with members in Salt Lake City; then Geneva came. Anderson recalled, "We went into what you would call a 'boom.' We went from practically nothing to 2,000 members. . . . We really had good luck at Geneva." When men joined the union, Anderson, as the union representative, told them, "Do that [employer] an honest day's work because we're asking him to give you an honest day's pay." The traditional struggle between management and labor subsided somewhat during the war, but rifts began to appear following the end of World War II.

Industrial growth in Utah County and along the Wasatch Front during World War II placed additional demands on existing water



American Fork native, Reva Beck Bosone became Utah's first woman congressional representative in 1948. (Utah State Historical Society)

resources. County water users and local governments turned their eyes eastward once again to develop additional water for the county. Before being defeated in 1946, Senator Abe Murdock introduced a bill in Congress authorizing the development of Utah's share of water

from the Colorado River system.¹² Within a few years of the completion of the Strawberry Reservoir Project, local county municipal workers, state officials, and agricultural water users had begun considering the possibility of expanding the Strawberry Valley Project to obtain additional water. From 1939 to 1943 a reconnaissance investigation of the Colorado River Great Basin Project was conducted by the Bureau of Reclamation. Results were somewhat disappointing, so the studies were suspended indefinitely. In 1945, however, the Bureau of Reclamation began to explore the possibility of obtaining additional water for the existing Strawberry Valley Project. The name Central Utah Project (CUP) was adopted at that time. A project office was established at Spanish Fork in June 1946, with a small field crew to conduct CUP investigations. Feasibility investigations continued for the next several years. On 22 October 1948 the Upper Colorado River Compact, an agreement among the Upper Basin states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico, was signed; it gave Utah 23 percent of the Upper Basin's share of water.

During the same year, Senator Watkins and several colleagues introduced the Colorado River Storage Project (CRSP) bill in Congress. In order for the water to reach the Wasatch Front, a series of diversion and storage dams, aqueducts, and tunnels were required—at tremendous costs. President Eisenhower signed the Colorado River Storage Project Bill, authorizing the Upper Colorado River Storage Project, in 1956. That same year, following authorization of the project, the CUP office in Spanish Fork was expanded considerably and work began on the detailed investigations.

The initial phase of the CUP was divided into four units that could be operated independently—the Vernal, Bonneville, Upalco, and Jensen units. The Bonneville Unit, which would benefit the Wasatch Front, was by far the largest and most complicated of the four authorized units and involved a substantial trans-basin diversion of water from the Uinta Basin to the Bonneville Basin as well as local developments in both basins. The Vietnam War, however, as well as economic and environmental concerns, delayed the project until Congress appropriated nearly \$800 million for the CRSP and its participating projects in Utah. Work on the Bonneville Unit did not begin until 1971. Even then, several other obstacles stood in the way

of completing the project as originally envisioned; but the necessary groundwork had been laid.

Another government action during this period occurred in 1947 when the National Park Service took charge of Timpanogos Cave National Monument. Although the Forest Service held jurisdiction of the cave from 1922 until 1934, control was transferred to the National Park Service. However, the cave was operated for twenty-four years by a group of local businessmen known as the Timpanogos Outdoor Committee as a not-for-profit enterprise until complete control reverted back to the National Park Service in 1947.

Agriculture still remained an important aspect of the local economy. G. Marion Hinckley returned to the county from a job in the East to take over a family farm in 1930. At the time, Hinckley “had a mortgage of \$5,380.00 and there were times when I wondered if this farm was worth that much,” he recalled, continuing: “I bought my first tractor in 1942 or 1943. That was really a Godsend because it saved a lot of manual labor, harnessing and unharnessing and feeding and caring for workhorses.” Hinckley next ordered a milking machine. “My milking parlor was completed and started in February 1954. Probably the best thing we ever did. . . . It went from 3 or 4 people milking cows down to one. One man could handle a herd of 60 cows,” he reported.¹³

A 1946 article by Willard Luce highlighted county agriculture after the war.¹⁴ Noting that the county agriculture offices were located in the City and County Building in Provo, Luce reviewed the various agricultural enterprises in the county. The canning factory at Orem was “one of the largest canners of tomatoes in the Rocky Mountain Region.” Payson was known for its onions, Spanish Fork for its Junior Livestock show, Pleasant Grove for its strawberries, American Fork for its poultry production, and Lehi for its roller mills.

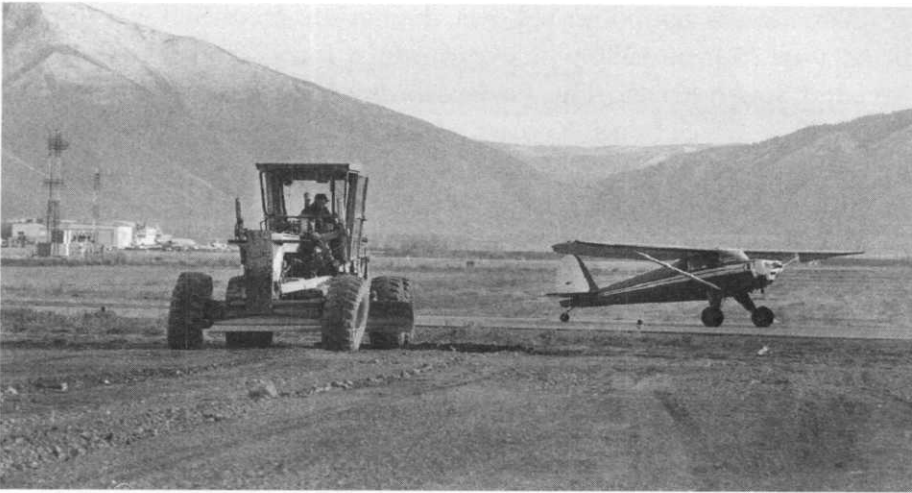
Luce noted: “In 1945 Utah County produced 311,978 quarts of strawberries and 533,921 quarts of raspberries.” While impressive, the totals, when added to the bushels of other fruits and vegetables produced in the county, became “even more significant.” The article revealed that 952,912 bushels of peaches, apples, pears, prunes, and apricots, as well as 2,300,460 pounds of cherries, were harvested and that a large amount of them were canned in the five canneries located

in the county. Additionally, tomatoes, beans, and other row crops also were harvested and canned. More than three-fourths of all the celery shipped from Utah came from Utah County. Chickens in the county laid a counted total of 6,152,305 dozen eggs, one-fifth of all the eggs produced in the state. Spanish Fork still had a sugar factory, which processed almost 38,000 tons of sugar beets that year.

Agriculture benefited from the development of the steel industry. The increasing urban population that came into the area helped consume the products of the local farmers. In addition, retailers also benefited from the upswing in the economy, as retail trade boomed when personal incomes rose rapidly during this period. From 1939 to 1948 American Fork retail trade figures rose about 70 percent per capita. Furniture and appliance sales increased 200 percent, auto sales 140 percent, and the jewelry, sporting goods, books, and gifts category jumped 265 percent.¹⁵ One of the most striking aspects of American Fork's economic changes occurred in the percentage of workers employed in agriculture. In 1927, 41.1 percent (332 people) of the employment population were associated with the agricultural industry. By 1958 the figure had declined to 6.9 percent (240) of the employed population.

The change from a economic situation of subsistence by farmers to a consumer-oriented structure is demonstrated in the fact that between 1940 and 1954 the number of farms with milk cows declined from 74 percent to 51.8 percent, those with swine declined from 53.3 percent to 29.6 percent, and those with chickens from 52 percent to 42 percent. Vegetables produced for home consumption dropped from 50.2 percent of the farms to 34.4 percent. More and more, people were drawn together in their economic situation and in their hopes that the market system would deliver them the goods and services they desired.

Technology was a tie that bound these people together more tightly to the national economic structure. Farmers, who had rapidly adopted tractors in the postwar period, were now tied irrevocably to the local sources manufacturing, selling, and repairing the equipment as well as to a complete cash economy to purchase the machines and eventually replace and upgrade the equipment. Yet life on the farm was still dictated by the harvest. One Benjamin resident, Carma



The Provo Airport was established in 1949 and nearly fifty years later in 1997 major expansion commenced allowing the facilities to handle commercial airliners. (Kevin A. Lee, *Daily Herald*)

Marie Stewart Olsen, recalled her courtship with J. Alden Olsen, who had just returned from military service in World War II: “We became engaged around Easter time and we were married on August 8, 1946, after the grain got harvested. Everything revolved around the farm work.”¹⁶

While the impact of increased wages as a result of the establishment of the steel plant helped make for a lot of part-time farmers, the greatest impact on farmers was a result of the changing economic basis of farming throughout the nation.¹⁷ The numbers of farms and farmers were decreasing while acreage of farms greatly increased. In Utah County, however, most farms were small, and few individuals could afford the significant capital required for mechanization. The result was part-time farmers, part-time land developers, and off-the-farm employment for many people. Nevertheless, agricultural census data showed that the average size of the county farms did increase from a low in 1935 of about 86 acres to nearly 180 acres in 1950 and nearly 292 acres in 1959. While county circumstances had their peculiar and particular manifestations, such as family size and the availability of water resources, they did not change independently of national forces.

War clouds again loomed over the nation. A conflict was ignited in Asia on 25 June 1950 when communist forces from North Korea invaded South Korea. The *Provo Sunday Herald* reported, "North Korea Reds Attack South Korea. Official declaration of war broadcast by radio of attackers."¹⁸ At the time, the Utah National Guard included 337 officers and 2,603 enlisted men.¹⁹ This number of guardsmen was higher than ever before in Utah's history except during the so-called Utah War of 1857–58 and the Black Hawk War of 1865–68. Five battalions of the Utah National Guard were called up, including just over 2,000 men, or 61.7 percent of the entire Utah Army National Guard and all of the Utah Air National Guard. Units came from throughout the state, including Provo, Pleasant Grove, and Spanish Fork.

The war—which was technically a "police action" of the United Nations—was unpopular and eventually became a factor in the 1952 election, when Utah voted for the Republican candidate, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, after having voted for the Democratic presidential candidate in the five previous elections. Like those in the rest of the state who served, many of the county residents who went to Korea were veterans of World War II, making their service additionally burdensome. When the conflict concluded in 1953, ten citizens from the county had died in the first Cold War military clash.

The federal government continued to support Camp Williams with significant funds, including pay for full-time employees who were being added to perform the additional administrative and maintenance requirements imposed upon the National Guard. During this period, the facilities at Camp Williams continued to be improved. Some 200 new tents were added, as well as a swimming pool and five baseball diamonds, a new road to the 20,000-acre artillery range, and sidewalks in the containment area. By 1952 the camp had ample facilities for 3,000 men, including an outdoor amphitheater, and a new water-supply system. Total National Guard expenditures in 1952 were \$1,492,721, of which the state spent \$115,170. The cost of training the guardsmen at Camp Williams that year totaled \$233,000, all of which was paid by the federal government.

The North Korean and Chinese Communist forces were not the

only enemy facing Americans at the time. Poliomyelitis, commonly known as polio, stalked the neighborhoods in the county, especially during the summers. Several polio epidemics flared up throughout the nation in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1950, the *Lehi Free Press* reported thirty-five area victims, with no end in sight.²⁰ Most communities in the county participated in polio drives—with funds going toward research and medical care. Santaquin had its most successful drive in 1953, with virtually every local club and community organization participating. The drive included torchlight parades, dime containers placed at store counters, school contributions, boxing and wrestling matches, food concessions at sporting events, public dances, and bake sales.²¹

Far away from Utah Valley, Jonas Salk directed research at the University of Pittsburgh under the sponsorship of the March of Dimes. His polio vaccine was used in a nationwide field trial in 1954. Doctors and children from Utah County were among those who participated in the monumental experiment. Children in Payson went to the local American Legion post hall that spring to participate. Half of the students were given the vaccine and the other half a placebo. Reta A. Egbert, a teacher at the Maeser School in Provo, recalled: “Children were given ‘Polio Pioneer’ [stickers] for cooperation in this great experiment.”²² On 12 April 1955 the vaccine was declared effective, making Salk an international hero. Parents were relieved of the anxiety that their children might be struck down by polio and die or be crippled for life.

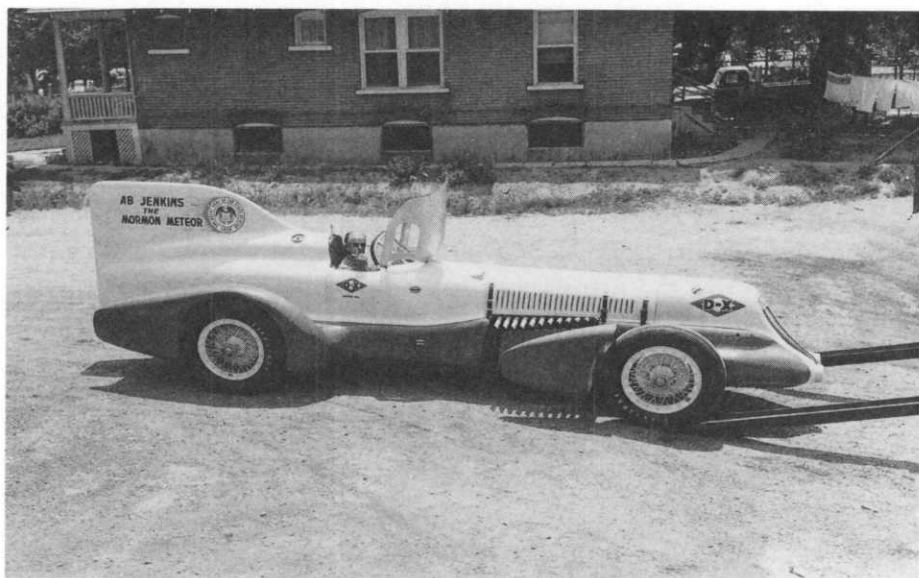
Civic service was not uncommon in the county. Many served their communities as educators and public servants and contributed through a host of clubs and private and religious organizations that also expanded during this period. A chapter of the Kiwanis International Club was organized in Payson in 1950, the Knights of Columbus was established in Provo in 1948, and numerous new Boy Scout troops were added to the already expansive scouting program in the county. Additionally, the Cub Scout program began to grow after World War II, especially in local Mormon wards. The program was officially adopted by the LDS church in 1949, and the Primary Association was asked to administer scouting for boys under twelve years of age, with boys eight to eleven as Cub Scouts and eleven-year-

old boys as Boy Scouts. The first Cub Scout association in the Edgemont area was organized in April 1956. Although public schools and other local churches sponsored scout units, the LDS church's expansion of the program made it the single largest supporter of the program in the county.

Other demands, including the use of public lands in the county, continued to draw the attention of local and national government leaders. The federal government's efforts to manage the Wasatch and Uinta National Forests in the region brought many changes, including the extension of the forest boundaries with the addition of 15,233 acres along the Wasatch Front in 1949.²³ James L. Jacobs, Uinta National Forest supervisor, began an effort in 1950 to reduce livestock permits in the forest. In 1954 he worked to expand the efforts of the Soil Conservation Service and local municipalities to participate in pilot projects under the new Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. During the same year, a public land order transferred to the Uinta National Forest from the Wasatch National Forest 142,000 acres in the American Fork Canyon area. Additionally, the Pleasant Grove Ranger District was also created, and it included the area originally known as the American Fork Ranger District. Part of the new district also came from the Wasatch National Forest, and other land along the Wasatch Front was transferred from the Spanish Fork District.

Under the direction of the new forest supervisor, Clarence S. Thornock, two new forest-ranger offices were built in Utah County at Spanish Fork and Pleasant Grove. In addition, several large and complex watershed rehabilitation projects were initiated in 1957, featuring contour trenching along the steep mountain slopes east of Utah Valley. Also, additional campsites were built and several existing sites were modernized during this period of aggressive activity by the National Forest Service in Utah County.

Yet management of these lands became more complex. As pressure mounted from lumber companies, ranchers, and mining companies on one side, and recreationists and environmentalists on the other, the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) found itself in a crossfire. In the late 1950s the USFS urged Congress to pass the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act to officially acknowledge a wide variety of uses of



Spanish Fork native, Ab Jenkins broke numerous land speed records on Utah's Bonneville Salt Flats in the 1950s. (Utah State Historical Society)

national forest lands. Opposition arose from all sides, each worried about the effect of the law on its particular favored access and use. Finally, when adopted in 1960, the act mandated more environmentally responsible management of the national forests.

County Growth

Between the end of World War II and the end of the 1950s, Utah County also witnessed a building boom. Provo provides a good example. Will Jones noted somewhat nostalgically in his journal in 1954: "Sunday evening. The last Sacrament meeting held in the old Provo Second Ward Meeting House . . . at 7:30. Bro. Abe Olson gave a history of the Ward. . . . I offered the Benediction." He then reflected: "quite a coincidence in as much as Father Albert Jones offered the opening Prayer at the time of the dedication May 30 1915 and myself the closing prayer at [this] the last meeting in the historic church." In October, Jones noted: "Friday. Ground broken for the new Provo High School on 10th N. And University Ave. To cost \$1,750,000." A day later, he wrote: "Provo's New National Guard the first in the State of Utah was dedicated today with an open house"; and in December

he noted: "Tuesday. The David O McKay building on the BYU upper campus was ded[icated] Today."²⁴

Besides new construction, many families, businesses, and public agencies remodeled or added to existing structures. Utah Valley Hospital, opened in 1939, began operation as an LDS church hospital in 1953. The church made significant additions to the hospital in 1956 and again in 1959. As beds and facilities at the medical center increased, so did the number of full-time staff workers and physicians, making the hospital a better place to serve the needs of the expanding community.

County population figures demonstrate the rapid growth during this period. In 1930, county inhabitants numbered just over 49,000. By 1940, the number had increased to 57,383. In 1950, the number had grown to 81,912, and, by 1960, the population stood at 106,991—more than double the number of only thirty years before. Individual figures for the communities between 1940 and 1960 show the population shifts during the period—Alpine (444 to 775), American Fork (3,906 to 6,373), Lehi (2,733 to 4,377), Lindon (587 to 1,150), Mapleton (907 to 1,516), Orem (2,914 to 18,394), Payson (3,591 to 4,237), Pleasant Grove (1,941 to 4,772), Provo (18,071 to 36,047), Salem (659 to 929), Spanish Fork (4,167 to 6,472), and Springville (4,796 to 7,913). Two agricultural communities, Genola (616 to 426) and Santaquin (1,297 to 1,183), decreased in size. Benjamin, Cedar Fort, Elberta, Fairfield, Highland, Lake Shore, Lake View, Spring Lake, and Vineyard population figures were not reported for 1950 or 1960.²⁵

The urban growth had its impact on public services and facilities, including water, electrical power, sewer, and educational infrastructures. Also, residential and business expansion began to decrease the amount of agricultural land. The influx of new businesses in Orem, for example, expanded along State Street. First Security Bank opened a branch office at 264 South State Street on 1 October 1947, allowing Orem residents the opportunity to bank in their own town rather than travel to Provo. As residential development squeezed the boundaries of the orchards, fruit producers were forced to limit their spraying of produce to safeguard the health of their new neighbors. Taxes also increased, and zoning changes made many of the produc-

ers ineligible for agricultural tax benefits. As a result, many fruit producers reestablished their businesses in southern Utah County.

As growth continued in the county, the communication industry went through major changes. Mountain Bell's conversion to dial-system telephone service was perhaps the most dramatic example. Dial-telephone technology was known as early as the 1920s, but the Great Depression and World War II delayed its introduction until the 1950s. Before 1955, telephone customers had to ask local operators to place all calls—both local and long distance. After the conversion of Provo's central office to the dialing system, the cost of phone service dropped dramatically, as did the need for a large staff of operators. In Lehi, for example, sixteen operators handling the switchboard were phased out of employment in 1959 when the phone service updated its systems there.

In addition to advances in communication, a more modern transportation system took its first steps forward during this period. One of the major advances in the postwar era was symbolized by the 1949 dedication of the Provo Airport by Mayor George E. Collard. The airport had been largely funded by the federal government.

The old State Street, or U.S. Highway 91 (also U.S. Highway 89 in the area), was still the major north-south traffic artery in Utah during this time. Thousands of cars, buses, and trucks drove along the road through the center of many of the county's towns. The heavy traffic was an economic boon to local merchants and to police departments that wrote up hundreds of traffic tickets each year. A major development in ground transportation began in 1956 when the interstate freeway system (officially the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways) was authorized under the Eisenhower administration.²⁶ The federal share in the project rose to 95 percent for the expensive stretches of double- and triple-lane roads in public-land areas. This significantly helped finance the completion of the project. In 1957, after a lengthy study, the Utah State Road Commission announced plans for the federally funded "thru-highway" that would largely parallel Highway 91 and be known as Interstate 15.

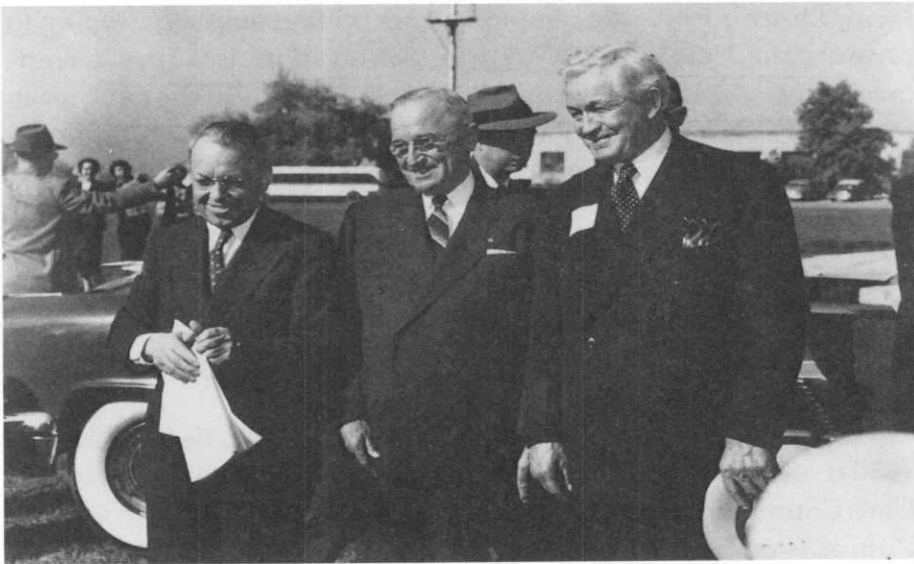
Inevitably, with a project so large, controversy arose about the location of the new freeway and its access. After much negotiation

between the state and the municipalities in the county, most community governments reluctantly agreed with the state proposal. Some changes were made before construction began in 1960. Many residents in the county, however, did not really care about the freeway's location. As Lillian Young Hayes recalled: "We just weren't that much aware whether it would be good or bad. We knew it would cut off a lot of time for us, living in Payson because you had to go clear to Spanish Fork and around."²⁷

Although concerns about the impact of the placement of the new highway generated some debate and conflict in the county, another issue related to highway construction took precedence during this time. From the territorial period, the road on the west side of Utah Lake was often preferred as a dependable north-south route through the county. The nature of the soil and the road-base conditions for most of the distance were better for travel, and the route between Salt Lake City and Nephi was more direct than that on the east side of the lake. Interests in the southwestern part of the state often urged that a good road be constructed on the west side of Utah Lake; but most county residents resisted such a move because they knew that with the limited funding for road development and maintenance any action to improve the road would result in less money for roads on the east side. Even after the location of Interstate 15 was officially established, concern was raised when discussion about improving the west-side road resurfaced. Many county residents thought such a plan would ultimately delay construction of I-15.

In 1959 the Utah County Commission appointed a ten-man commission, composed of seven Utah County representatives and three representatives from the Utah State Road Commission, to study the entire problem and to submit a firm recommendation to the county commission. During the next few months, meetings were held by many civic groups, city officials of communities in the county, and business interests. Practically all of the latter were opposed to improvement of the west-side road and stood in opposition to the west-side property owners who wanted the road improved.

At the same time, the board of governors of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce formally approved construction of a new road from the Salt Lake Airport south across the western part of the



United States President Harry S. Truman visited Utah on several occasions beginning in 1944. BYU President Ernest L. Wilkinson, U.S. President Harry S. Truman, and LDS Church President David O. McKay visit Utah County in 1952. (Special Collections, BYU Archives)

Salt Lake Valley, along the west side of Utah Lake, and south to the community of Mona, located just north of Nephi. When seven members of the ten-man Utah County committee voted to accept \$1,200,000 in Utah state funds for a truck route west of the lake from Camp Williams Junction to Santaquin Junction, the public discussion became a full-blown controversy. During the remaining part of the year, public interest continued unabated. Civic clubs and prominent citizens in the southwestern part of the state spoke out vigorously in support of the improvement on the west side of Utah Lake. The Utah State Road Commission also released the results of another study that argued in favor of the development of the west-side road.

The Provo Chamber of Commerce urged the governor to fill a vacancy on the road commission with a county resident in hopes of influencing the final decision. During January and February 1960 the controversy raged on. Never before had road matters drawn such interest from the media and the general population. The Utah State Road Commission published another study demonstrating the cost

savings from a west-side road to be \$3.5 million annually, hoping to pressure the Utah County Commission to submit its final recommendation. Not until 29 February 1960, however, did the issue reach the county commission. The commissioners adopted a conditional resolution calling for the extension of "State Route 68 south from the crossing of State Route 73, south of Camp Williams, southerly through Elberta to Mona, to a connection with U.S. 91." In the meantime, the ten-man commission was unable to come up with a compromise and, therefore, was unable to give the county commission a definite recommendation. County residents still argued their own positions.

The Utah State Road Commission held a public hearing in June 1960 to discuss the issue. This meeting drew strong opposition from Utah County interests opposed to the road. In May the Utah County Commission finally approved a compromise proposal that "Utah County will approve the road provided the State Road Commission agrees it be only two-lane and that it end at Elberta Junction." Various interest groups scrambled to outline their positions for the June meeting. When convened, the meeting lasted more than three hours. Several representatives from Provo, Springville, and Spanish Fork favored the compromise recommended by the Utah County Commission. Most of those from the rest of the state favored completion of the entire route south to Mona in Juab County.

Finally, the road commission made its decision to support the Utah County compromise and forwarded the recommendation to the state legislature for approval, which was accomplished in 1961. Then, suddenly, in a reversal of policy perhaps unprecedented in the Utah State Road Commission's history, the commission deferred all development of the project in November 1961. Everyone was stunned, including the property owners on the west side of the lake, residents in southwestern Utah, and Utah County officials, all of whom had worked so hard to iron out a compromise. The press, which had been so active in the two-year battle, now became very critical of the state road commission. In a token act to meet the criticism, the commission agreed to expend \$60,000 for graveling and applying a light oil treatment to the existing road on the west side of Utah Lake, thus ending one of the most controversial issues in mod-

ern county history. As construction of I-15 subsequently continued through the county, the west-side controversy was forgotten by most residents.

The continued subsidized highway development had another downside for some aspects of transportation in the county. It signalled the final death knell of the Orem Railroad, which stopped running its famous red cars in 1946, as passengers increasingly took advantage of the independence that buses, trucks, and cars offered. Additionally, several railroad depots closed in the county as declining revenues forced companies to consolidate. The Denver & Rio Grande Railroad depot in Payson was closed in 1959 despite the protests of the civic leaders at a hearing at the state capitol building in Salt Lake City. By the end of the decade, the inhabitants had effectively voted with their cars and trucks—the transportation future followed the roads and highways.

Local communities in the county also upgraded their roads, often in conjunction with local service groups and clubs. Mapleton, like some of the other small communities in the county, had limited improved roads. In 1948 Mapleton had only one mile of oiled road near the center of town. Within four years, with the help of county and state agencies, most of Mapleton's roads were surfaced. Other communities also improved their roads through various means. The Santaquin Civic Club (organized in 1944) helped get a curb and gutter on the town's Main Street in 1946; two years later, the club helped complete a street- and house-numbering project. Street markers were placed at the major intersections in Payson in 1949 by the local Lions Club and the Payson Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Other road improvements that were begun at this time not only improved driving conditions but also made the roads and bridges safer. The approach to the Jordan River bridge from the Lehi side (Bridge Road) was somewhat tricky but posed no major problems until the 1930s when automobile traffic increased dramatically. Several people then died in accidents at the bridge, which caused concerns for residents. They voiced these worries to the county commission in 1941, but World War II prevented the commission from taking action. Finally, the county commission awarded an \$87,000 contract for a new eighty-four-foot steel and concrete bridge in 1947.

Additionally, a sixteen-mile two-lane highway to Cedar Valley was begun the following year at a cost of almost \$250,000.

As roads improved and the number of vehicles increased, a move to give young students training to learn to drive was afforded in several communities in the county at public high schools. For example, behind-the-wheel driving instruction was given to sophomores at Payson High School beginning in May 1948.

At this same time, land speed records were being made on Utah's Bonneville Salt Flats by Utah County native son Ab Jenkins, who was born in Spanish Fork in 1883. He came to the salt flats on Labor Day of 1950 and shattered twenty-six world and American records in his *Mormon Meteor III*. During the day, he achieved a top speed of 199.19 miles an hour on a twelve-mile circular track.

High school and BYU athletics—football, basketball, baseball, and track—continued to draw support and attention, but new forms of recreation also were introduced. The Alpine Country Club began when Yukus Inouye decided to develop land in Highland as a golf course. Some friends said he was crazy, but he started the project in 1957–58 and, when completed, the course consisted of 154 acres and eighteen holes.

Another recreational activity also had its start in Provo Canyon when Raymond R. Stewart began a small ski resort named Timp Haven in the winter of 1944–45. This first attempt largely failed, but things went better during the next ski season. Expansion continued when two old cabins were brought in—one housed the rope-tow equipment and the other was used for a lunch stand. Provo City installed lights for night skiing and organized a ski school. Brigham Young University began offering ski classes that not only promoted skiing in the area but also helped the Stewarts stay alive financially, making the ski season of 1946–47 a success. A merger in 1953 added new capital so a chair lift could be added to the tiny resort. Four years later, a new lift was installed, making Timp Haven (now Sundance) more modern.

Just as the 1950s ended, one further development in the county brought an additional facility to support the expanding cultural amenities. People in Utah County have always been interested in and supported cultural events; however, in 1958, BYU planned to add a



Utah County residents' world became larger with the introduction of television. Eventually, they had their own station when KBYU began transmission in 1965 providing local programming and news for the region. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

fine arts center on campus so students and county residents could enjoy the best in drama, music, and art. First proposed in the fall of 1954, the new facility initially did not receive serious consideration, as other major construction projects on campus took precedence. The need for sophisticated equipment and ample space for the increasing cultural arts departments on campus was well known, however. Stage

and theater facilities on campus were inadequate. The school's board of trustees was presented with a request for \$5 million for the new facility, and, when the plans were finally approved in 1959, work began on what would become a showpiece for the county, the facility now known as the Harris Fine Arts Center.

A noted architectural firm, William L. Pereira and Associates, in Los Angeles, was hired to design the building. The company had received honors for the fine arts center it had designed for UCLA. James H. Langenheim, a partner and director of design for the firm recalled, "It was a most memorable time in my life as we were selected to be the architects. . . . [T]he project was a real challenge in that there were seven and one half acres of programmed area to be placed on a two and one half acre site . . . [and] at the same time a requirement that the building could not be higher than the other two story buildings in the [north] quad" of the campus.²⁸ When finally completed in 1964, the building was aesthetically pleasing and one of the most functional centers of its kind in the nation. The total cost was slightly more than \$7 million, making it the most expensive building on campus at that time.

The postwar economic, cultural, and recreational expansion continued to attract individuals, families, and companies to Utah County. However, not all the movement came from outside the county. Just as Geneva initially had attracted workers to the Provo-Orem area from the small towns and farms in Utah Valley during its construction, its continued operation attracted another generation from communities throughout the county. For example, Ronald Livingston had lived in Spanish Fork from the time he was born in 1935 until 1955 when, while studying at BYU, he started work in the design engineering department at Geneva. He recalled, "I moved to Orem in 1956 to be closer to work and the university."²⁹ Although still in the county of his birth and close to family and friends, the move to Orem was an exciting new adventure.

The population growth continued to bring an ever-larger number of non-Mormons into the county. With the growth of a more pluralistic religious community, some new non-LDS churches were established, and those already in existence experienced growth during this period. Assembly of God churches in Provo and Salem were

founded in 1942, the Provo Church of Christ (presently located in Orem) in 1941, the Orem Community Church (United Church of Christ) in 1951, the Provo Bible Church (present-day Evangelical Free Church in Orem) in 1945, the Provo Church of the Nazarene in 1945, the Provo First Baptist Church (Southern Baptist) in 1948, and the Pleasant Grove First Baptist Church (Southern Baptist) in the 1950s. Local Protestant ministers held their first meeting together in 1956. Later, an organization known as the Utah Valley Ministerial Association, which arose out of these first meetings, was founded. The organization's main purpose was to coordinate Protestant ministry and outreach in the county.

Almost all these new churches in the county had interesting and challenging beginnings. One group of Protestants in Orem did something quite unusual when it utilized a movable chapel for its worship services during this period. The facility was provided by a local Baptist family that had recently lost a young daughter by death. The full-sized railroad car was named the Grace Chapel Car in honor of the young girl. From 1943 until 1946 this chapel was used by some local Protestants for their worship services.

Older congregations, like the Provo Community Congregational Church, continued to play an active role in the area. Its pastor, Reverend Edwin A. Irwin, had long been an outspoken member of the community. In World War II he took a rather unpopular stand against the violence and war, and his sermons often touched upon the subject of pacifism. After the war, Irwin continued his active participation to make the church a part of the social and religious landscape of the county. A campaign was begun to build a church to accommodate the congregation's growth, following the theme of "We build and grow with Provo." Support for the new sanctuary was great, allowing the church to be dedicated on 13 January 1957.³⁰

A new congregation of the religious community, a local Assembly of God church was started in Provo in 1942 when its first pastor, Louis DeVore, gathered forty-two members of the faith together in a store-front building on Center Street.³¹ The church changed pastors and locations sometime around 1944. Vern Harris took over leadership of the church and moved to an old building on Center Street east of University Avenue. As the war drew to a close, Edward Palmer

replaced Pastor Harris and moved the church to the Pioneer Museum on 500 West, where worship services were held until 1952. Palmer left in 1948; his position was filled by Reverend Warren Campbell as interim pastor (he was serving as the full-time pastor in American Fork). A new pastor, James Holden, held several revival meetings in Provo, which attracted new members to the church.

During the next few years, several people held the position of pastor. During the service of Ben Cottle, who served for six months, the church's first building was purchased on 600 West and 800 North. Through the volunteer service of the congregation and the new pastor, M.W. Roll, the building was remodeled. Men worked in the evenings, after work, and women worked during the day; after several months of labor, the new facility was ready for use. For the Assembly of God congregation in Provo, this event was a major accomplishment.

Some Protestant churches during this time experienced new challenges. The Episcopal church's social makeup changed, for example, adding for the first time a great number of members who were not long-time residents or natives of the county. The benefits, however, were substantial, because several executives at Geneva (including Ed Duncan and Richard Belding) were Episcopalians, and St. Mary's became an energetic and highly active congregation. By the end of the 1950s, the church had experienced unparalleled growth and stability, which allowed the congregation to incorporate and make the parish a self-supporting organization. Reverend Philip K. Kemp, who came to Provo in 1949, and Earl T. Oss, senior warden and ranking lay leader, requested its status as a mission be changed to an independent parish. As a mission, St. Mary's had received missionary funding from the general Episcopal church. As a parish, St. Mary's assumed responsibility for its own financing and received full control of local church property; the local membership also gained control over the choice of its priests. This change was accomplished in 1960, making St. Mary's Utah's fifth Episcopal parish and one of only two self-supporting Episcopal parishes in the Utah Diocese outside of Salt Lake City.

Although many Protestant church members and clergy felt a sense of isolation in the Mormon-dominated county during this

period, another church had already experienced a long tradition of struggle for understanding in dominantly Protestant America. In this sense, this church's experience in Utah County was not unusual, and its successes in the county were just as rewarding as they would have been in any other region of the nation. The Catholic church in Utah County continued to grow from the time the Franciscans returned to Provo in 1931, as friars Domínguez and Escalante had promised in 1776. Under the leadership of Father Henry Stendenback the current parish church building in Provo was completed. In 1941 the parish celebrated its golden jubilee with a dedication of a fifty-one-foot flag-pole. Just a little over a month after World War II concluded, Bishop Duane G. Hunt consecrated the church (one of only two in the diocese) on 30 September 1945. The church was renamed under the patronage of St. Francis of Assisi at this time.

Franciscan Sisters of the Atonement arrived to teach parish catechetical programs in 1948. As church membership growth continued, the St. Francis of Assisi School (a grade school) was established in Provo in 1955, serving Catholics throughout the county. Between 1955 and 1971, the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration staffed and directed St. Francis School. They, along with the Victory Noll Sisters, the Franciscan Friars, and the Franciscan Sisters of the Atonement, joined local lay people to meet the needs of area Catholics. In 1958 a high school was built, thereby expanding the educational facility at St. Francis School.

Expansion of Catholic work outside of Provo began when Bishop Hunt visited parishioners in American Fork in 1944. Many of these people were active in the St. Francis Catholic Parish, but they longed for their own church building in northern Utah County. Within a decade, the Valerio, Dunn, Mecheling, and Rygiewicz families began a Bible study class for Catholics living in Pleasant Grove, Lindon, American Fork, and Lehi.³²

Additionally, a large number of the growing Hispanic population in the county sought out the Catholic church as soon as they arrived in the area. Without the church, most Hispanics found themselves isolated in a culture that was often insensitive to Catholic lifestyle and culture. The Catholic church provided a place where both their language and culture could survive, allowing them to create their own

communities within the larger society. For these Catholics and others of the faith, the advances during this period allowed them to enrich their own lives through close association with others who shared their values and traditions and understood their struggles as they attempted to live their faith in the shadows of the Wasatch Mountains.

As the religious dimension of the county continued to expand, family life also changed. Born in 1948 in Spanish Fork, Sharon Ann Wheeler Davis recalled the days of her childhood, when children did not live at such a hectic pace: "Children weren't pressured to be busy all the time. They didn't expect to be entertained. Television was not so important then."³³ Things changed, however, with the television revolution. Although experimentation with television broadcasting began in the late 1920s, technical difficulties, corporate competition, and World War II postponed its introduction to the public until 1946. Television constituted a revolutionary change from radio, but television's introduction was not as chaotic as that of radio, for an institutional framework already existed. The television boom occurred between 1949, when 940,000 households in America had a TV set, and 1953, when the number soared to 20 million. The first commercial television programming in Utah occurred on 15 April 1948 when present-day KTVX (Channel 4) went on the air; KSL-TV (Channel 5) followed in 1949 and KUTV (Channel 2) in 1954. Sharon Davis recalled, "I can remember when our neighbors got their first television set. Every day we would look at the television schedule, and then wait for a program to come on. Most of the time we got a test pattern. There wasn't just one show after another. . . . We waited for the show that we wanted, then turned it on. When it was over we'd turn the set off because there weren't any other programs on for, sometimes, hours."³⁴

A whole generation watched the "Howdy Doody Show" and "The Lone Ranger." Additionally, a popular early television variety program first known as "Toast of the Town" (1948–55) and later as "The Ed Sullivan Show" (1955–71) attracted an increasingly larger audience in the county. Sullivan became known for discovering and publicizing new performers. Soon, teenagers from around the county watched Sullivan's program to see the generation's new star, Elvis

Presley. He performed live, but because of protests over the sexual suggestiveness of Presley's gyrations, he was shown only from the waist up while performing on televisions throughout the nation.

The first color television broadcast was transmitted into the state from the Tournament of Roses Parade in Pasadena, California, on New Year's Day 1954. Another decade passed, however, before color television began to supplant the black-and-white sets. Two years after this first color broadcast, about 40 million Americans watched a young Massachusetts senator concede defeat to Adlai E. Stevenson for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1956. Yet overnight John F. Kennedy became one of the most famous political figures in the country, and his quest for the White House continued. In 1960, television again was a major factor in the campaign, which featured a series of four televised debates between Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. An estimated 85 to 120 million Americans watched the debates live on television. Although both men showed a firm grasp of the issues, Kennedy's good looks and his superior poise while on camera convinced many viewers that he had won the debate. One Provo resident, Clyde Williams, recalled as a young child "seeing John Kennedy and Richard Nixon debating [on T.V.] and thinking how much better looking Kennedy was," even though Williams's parents were ardent Republicans.³⁵ While Kennedy did not capture the hearts of most county residents, the majority of whom voted for Nixon in the election, the power of television was apparent and growing.

In November 1960 Kennedy became the first Catholic and the youngest man to become president of the United States. His election ushered in a new decade full of idealism and hope—a "New Frontier," as Kennedy called it. The New Frontier, however, brought to Americans and county residents alike a period of social change, challenges, and progress that shaped the contours of life, often through the medium of television.

ENDNOTES

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22. Reta A. Egbert, interview with Kay Alta and Alexander Haynes, 30 December 1975, BYU Archives.
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26. Summary based on Ezra C. Knowlton, *History of Highway Development in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Road Commission, n.d.).
27. Lillian Young Hayes, interview with Marian Johnson, 22 December 1992, transcript in author's possession.
28. James Hayes Langenheim, interview with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 10 November 1995, transcript in author's possession.
29. Ronald Burnell Livingston to Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 17 November 1995, in author's possession.
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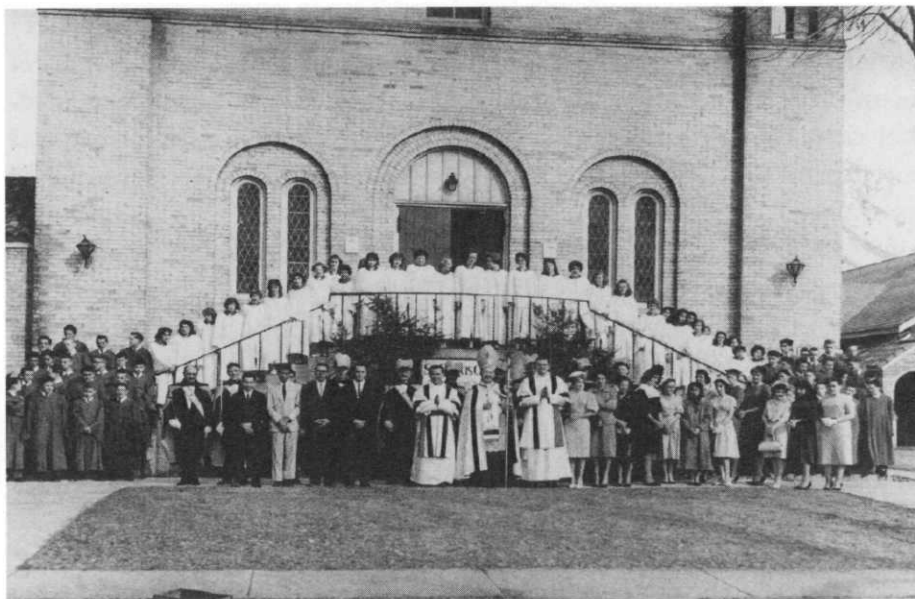
CHAPTER 13

THE NEW FRONTIER, 1961–1979

Wilson Thomas returned from mass at St. Francis Catholic Church in Provo on Thursday, 22 November 1963, turned on the television, and heard the shocking report—America’s first Catholic U.S. president had been shot in Dallas, Texas. That night, a prayer service was held at St. Francis Church, and during the next several days masses were held where parishioners prayed for the repose of the soul of John F. Kennedy.¹

Others in the community were just as shocked—especially the young who related to the idealism of Kennedy’s proclaimed “New Frontier.” Robert Carter, a school teacher at Orem Junior High, watched the events of those days in late November. “My sister had a television, so I went to Provo to watch the news,” he recalled.² Carter, along with other county residents, was again stunned as he watched Jack Ruby shoot Lee Oswald, the suspected assassin of the president, on television. The violence of Dallas came right into the living rooms of thousands of people in Utah County, just as it did in millions of homes across the nation.

The president’s tragic death brought together most of Utah



Joseph Lennox Federal Bishop of Diocese of Salt Lake City following the administration of confirmation at Saint Francis Church in 1963. (Wilson Thomas)

County residents as nothing else had done for some time. The *Lehi Free Press* noted: "People of all religions and political persuasions paused, prayed, and saluted their fallen leader."³ The editor of the *Springville Herald* wrote: "Nothing has so shocked the nation since Pearl Harbor."⁴ The *Pleasant Grove Review* stated: "Pleasant Grove was a solemn and quiet city during most of the daylight hours last Monday. . . . in heart-felt respect to the memory of President John F. Kennedy."⁵ The *American Fork Citizen* stated that, in spite of the tragedy, "we think it instilled in all of us a deeper sense of pride and patriotism and a renewed determination to protect our heritage of freedom."⁶ The *Spanish Fork Press* editor reflected: "All will be remembered for a long time and the terrible, despicable deed will linger forever in the hearts of Americans."⁷

The assassination of an American president was one of many events that punctuated this period of history in the county, demonstrating that a new period of social, political, and economic unrest was sweeping across the land. As the nation plunged into the social

and political chaos of the 1960s, the county also began to reflect America at large. The integration of the area into the national market economy had been completed much earlier, but an additional market concept—the franchise—began to take root in the county as entrepreneurs increasingly viewed the region as a new land of promise.

At the beginning of the 1960s, Jack and Susannah Speierman Broberg lived in Glendale, California.⁸ Jack Broberg had been born in Utah, but his family was one of thousands that had left the state in the out-migration beginning in the early twentieth century. Although Susannah Broberg was born in California, her mother, Delilah Higgs Speierman, was born and raised in Provo, and she represented a generation born outside Utah that still had strong ties to family and institutions in the state and county. She attended BYU and lived with relatives in Provo before returning to Southern California in 1950.

After their marriage, she and her husband decided that a fast-food franchise might offer them an opportunity to go into business themselves. They approached Robert C. “Bob” Wian, the claimed originator of the “original double decker hamburger,” about taking his famous California operation to Utah County, realizing that nothing like Bob’s Big Boy could be found there. Susannah Broberg recalled, “How often the California students at BYU with myself, said ‘we need a Big Boy Hamburger.’”⁹ Within a short time, Paul Warner, manager of the food services at BYU, became the first employee of the new company known as JB’s Big Boy Inc., named after Jack Broberg. By 21 November 1961 an abandoned drive-in on Fifth West in Provo had been found, remodeled, and opened—becoming the first fast-food franchise operation in Utah County. In the first ten months of operation, sales were \$293,000, with a net income after start-up costs of approximately \$40,000. From its beginning in 1961 in Utah County, JB’s expanded throughout Utah and the surrounding western states, growing to 127 restaurants by 1984 when Jack Broberg stepped down as chief executive officer. He remained chairman of the board until his retirement in early 1987. After a name change in 1995, Summit Family Restaurants, Inc. operated three distinct operations—JB’s Family Restaurants, Galaxy Diners, and HomeTown Buffets—throughout the western United States. By 1998, Carl’s Jr., a

large restaurant chain in California, purchased JB's and continues to operate those entities (except Hometown Buffet) and have begun to open their own Carl's Jr. restaurants throughout Utah county and the state.

The restaurant industry was marked by rapid change between 1960 and 1980. Many fast-food franchises renovated and enlarged their outlets from strictly take-out to comfortable sit-down operations. The first JB's in Provo was eventually sold, and a larger sit-down restaurant was built on University Avenue. In the years since the Brobergs brought the first Big Boy restaurant to the county, numerous other franchises have contributed to an increasing dining-out market that now includes nationally recognized names like 31 Flavors, Arby's, Blimpie, Boston Market, Burger King, Carl's Jr., Chili's, Cracker Barrel, Chevy's Fresh Mex, Dairy Queen, Del Taco, Denney's, Domino's, Einstein Bros. Bagels, Fuddruckers, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Little Caesar's, McDonald's, Macaroni Grill, Olive Garden, Outback Steakhouse, Panda Express, Papa John's Pizza, Pizza Hut, Schlotzky's Deli, Shoney's, Sizzler, Subway Sandwiches, Taco Bell, TGI Friday's, Tony Roma's, and Wendy's, Wienerschnitzel.

In 1965, at the very time that JB's expanded beyond its first location in Provo, Utah Inc. became a tax-exempt entity and changed its name to the Utah Valley Industrial Development Association (UVIDA). Originally organized in 1949 by a group of businessmen to promote local economic development in the county and funded by chambers of commerce throughout the county, the new organization began to receive as much as 50 percent of its operating revenue directly from the county; BYU, Geneva, and Utah Valley Regional Medical Center were major annual contributors. Additionally, UVIDA hired Richard Benson as its first full-time paid staff member. In 1975 Richard M. Bradford became the new director and began to help coordinate activities of the various municipalities in the county to facilitate the county's development. The Provo-Orem rivalry and the small municipalities' distrust of both Provo and Orem continued to plague attempts to be united, however. UVIDA eventually became an agency of the county government in 1991, changing its name to Utah Valley Economic Development Association (UVEDA).

Earlier, Orem City officials had become concerned that they were

losing significant amounts of revenue through the sales taxes that Orem residents paid to Provo merchants. Attempts by Provo City to obtain a diagonal route from University Avenue to Highway 91 in Orem by way of 1300 South had met with vigorous opposition by officials in Orem, who felt that such a route would only make it more convenient for its residents to shop in Provo. After many meetings, Orem Mayor G. Milton Jameson, the city council, and the planning commission decided in 1965 that it was essential to establish a major retail center in Orem to retain much of the sales tax revenue they were losing to Provo. In addition, they felt that such a development could draw Provo residents to make purchases in Orem, thus increasing revenues, which could be used for city improvements.¹⁰ The "Diagonal" from Provo to U.S. Highway 91 through Orem was approved in 1969.

Provo downtown city merchants, in an effort to maintain their preeminent commercial status in Utah County, opposed the development of large shopping malls in Provo and influenced city leaders to discourage the development of such malls through planning and zoning restrictions. But, as Orem's plans crystallized in 1965, Provo residents criticized their city government for the lack of foresight, since residential property taxes would have to be increased if business revenues dropped. Through lobbying efforts, two proposals were presented in Provo. The first was the condemnation by Provo City of several blocks along West Center Street to construct a large regional shopping mall in downtown Provo. The second was the establishment of a mall on Center Street.

The Orem mall proposal enjoyed a number of advantages which were lacking in the Provo proposals. First, the Orem group obtained a large tract of land at an economical rate. Second, the construction costs were lower in Orem because the builders were not forced to demolish existing buildings. Third, the Orem location offered significantly more parking than either of the Provo proposals. Fourth, and most important, Orem had only one proposal, which enjoyed the full support of the city commission, whereas the two proposals in Provo were at loggerheads with each other. Finally, the Orem group was able to convince Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Inc. (ZCMI) to build a branch store at the new mall location.

When ZCMI announced its plans to build a store in Orem, one Provo official stated: "They are not the only pebble on the beach. ZCMI is making a mistake to desert Provo."¹¹ Apparently, one of the Provo groups had hoped that the Salt Lake City-based retailer would be one of the anchors of their mall. After it was dedicated on 30 November 1972, the Orem mall, known as the University Mall, became the shopping focal point of the metropolitan Orem/Provo area. Eventually, the mall attracted other businesses, and many of Orem's farms and orchards were converted to shopping centers and strip malls along State Street and the University Parkway, making the area a regional retail center and attracting business away from many downtown communities in Utah Valley and central Utah. The University Mall remained the only such facility in the county until 28 October 1998 when the Provo Towne Centre opened its doors to an eager public.

The downside of this economic development and the increasing encroachment of national franchises, supermarkets, and large retail shopping centers and mall expansion was the loss of small businesses. In January 1968 Robert Carter noted in his diary: "Today we learned for the first time that the Second Ward Market [in Provo] is going out of business next Saturday." Carter reflected: "I used to go in there as a small boy of three years old when they used to sell ice cream cones." Since the advent of the big supermarkets, Leo Allen, the owner of the small market, had begun to lose business. Carter sadly acknowledged the changing nature of life in the county: "I guess it's all progress but I certainly will miss getting my groceries where there was a little personal interest and concern. It takes so long to get anything in the super markets. I hate to see small private owners go out of business."¹²

Despite economic shifts in the county, the Cold War still hung over the nation like a thunderstorm ready to drench the county in an atomic deluge, as the Soviet Union increased its power and influence by developing the hydrogen bomb and, in 1957, by launching the first earth satellite. Soviet alliances with Eastern European nations and Cuba, and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, brought the United States to the brink of war during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Children still practiced air-raid drills by hiding under their desks, and the nuclear age spread fear throughout the world.

Local politics reflected the nuclear age. While the two dominant political parties in the county fought each other on a variety of issues, a new conservative movement grew in importance. Although not numerically significant, the movement's ideas impacted local, state, and national elections. Known as the John Birch Society, members and those sympathetic to the society's goals organized and promulgated their ideology throughout Utah County. Established in 1958 to combat what its members perceived to be the infiltration of communism into American life, the John Birch Society quickly grew in the early 1960s. Among the society's members were many county citizens who were passionately opposed to communism and who denounced all forms of what they perceived as tyranny and compulsion. Outspoken critics of American society, they advocated a return to their interpretation of the U.S. Constitution and the rejection of U.S. membership in the United Nations.

Locally, many other county residents supported the movement, even though they did not join. Ernest L. Wilkinson, president of BYU noted in his journal, "The John Birch Society is a real patriotic living and moving organization." Although he refused to join, he nevertheless noted, "I would probably agree with 90 percent of their teachings."¹³ Conservative politics continued to play a role in the county through the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1972 W. Cleon Skousen founded the Freeman Institute in Provo. The group was aggressive in expanding its educational outreach programs to the community and across the nation.

Despite a growing conservatism in the county during the first half of the 1960s, Kennedy's New Frontier bode well for the Democrats, even though the young Massachusetts legislator lost Utah in the national election of 1960.¹⁴ Democrat David S. King was elected to the Second Congressional District seat by winning the district vote, including Utah County's vote. Residents did, however, continue to support Republican Governor George Clyde from Utah County.

Republicans were soundly defeated in the 1964 campaign. Democrats King and Moss retained their seats, both with solid majorities from Utah County. Additionally, the majority of county voters supported Democratic gubernatorial candidate Calvin



Jack M. Broberg, founder and president of JB's Big Boy Inc., in Provo about 1961. Since the introduction of the franchise concept in Utah Valley, most national franchise chains are established throughout the county. (Susannah S. Broberg)

Rampton and, in what appeared to be a national repudiation of Republican conservatism, they joined the nation in supporting President Lyndon B. Johnson over Republican candidate and Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater—the first time the county had voted for a Democratic presidential candidate since 1948. Additionally, the majority of county residents voted for Clyde L. Miller (attorney general), Sharp M. Larsen (state auditor), Linn C. Kaer (state treasurer), Allen B. Sorensen (Fourth District attorney), G. Marion Hinckley (four-year county commissioner), Melvin R. Hanks (two-year county commissioner), Dan Prior (state representative), David C. Harvey (state representative), Alfred J. Madsen (state representative), Boyd H. McAfee (state representative), Marvin F. Warren (state representative), Francis S. Lundell (state representative), E.R. Callister, Jr. (state supreme court justice), and Joseph E. Nelson (Fourth District judge)—all Democrats. State representative candidate J. Robert Bullock was the only big Republican winner.¹⁵

In 1966 Utah County was placed in the First Congressional District. County citizens, along with the rest of the district, supported incumbent Republican Laurence J. Burton for Congress; he defeated Keith Melville, a BYU political science professor. As the 1968 general election process began, county residents had the opportunity to hear many of the candidates, including presidential hopeful Robert Kennedy. He came to BYU in March to speak to an overflow crowd in the George Albert Smith Fieldhouse. A local paper noted, “In a brief address, the New York Senator stressed a need for ‘new direction, new dedication, a new sense of purpose.’” Kennedy joked with the audience when he said he had much in common with the founder of the University, Brigham Young. “I have a large family, have settled in many states and am now ready to take on Johnson’s army.”¹⁶

As spring moved into summer, county residents confronted acts of violence in the country through the medium of television. In April, civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., was murdered, and in June Robert Kennedy was killed. The increased turmoil over the Vietnam War and violence in America’s streets helped bring the Republicans back into power in the 1968 election. Utah County’s vote mirrored that of the state and the nation. Republican Wallace F. Bennett won election to his fourth and final term in the U.S. Senate,

and Republican Laurence Burton won election to his fourth term in the First Congressional District, with a majority in Utah County. County residents, however, scratched their ballots to vote for a Democratic governor after voting for other Republicans candidates. This proved to be a vote of support for the man, Calvin Rampton, not the party. The *Provo Daily Herald* summarized the election: "Utah County Votes Heavily GOP; Sets Polling Record."¹⁷

Like many local educators, Robert Carter supported the Democratic governor because of Rampton's support of education. Carter wrote in his diary about a confrontation he had had regarding the campaign with a relative. "I told him what Rampton had done to solve Utah's educational crisis and what kind of hell it was being a teacher under the ultra-do-nothing Clyde administration." Apparently, Carter's arguments did not change his relative's mind: "We parted both thinking each other damned and stupid. As one parting blow I told him both men were good, one was good at running a state government and the other was good with boy scouts."¹⁸

The 1970 midterm election was summarized by the *Daily Herald*: "Utah County Favors Moss, McKay; Keeps GOP in County Posts."¹⁹ Democratic challenger Gunn McKay beat his opponent Robert Wolthuis with a solid majority in Utah County and in the district.²⁰ In 1972 the majority of voters in the county voted for Republican presidential incumbent Richard M. Nixon but continued to support many well-known Democratic candidates. "Utah County voters went to the polls in droves yesterday," the *Daily Herald* reported, "piling up the highest number of votes ever cast locally in a general election." Rampton won a third term with county support, as did Representative Gunn McKay. Each party got a seat on the county commission—one was Yukus Inouye, the Japanese farmer who had met the angry young men on a lonely road in Highland during World War II, as related earlier. The Provo paper concluded, "Utah County voters seemed to vote for the man instead of the party in the Utah State Senate and Utah County Commission races, but liked Republicans in the State House of Representative races."²¹

Following the election of 1972, another conflict far away from Utah County had its impact. On 17 October 1973 the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) declared an embargo on

the shipment of oil to those countries that had supported Israel in the conflict with Egypt. With one stroke, the great dependence of the industrialized world on imported oil became painfully clear. In Utah County, as elsewhere, gasoline prices dramatically increased, shortages occurred, and a national speed limit of 55 miles per hour was imposed to help reduce fuel consumption.

President Nixon's reelection in 1972 came in the wake of a break-in of the Democratic Party National Headquarters at the Watergate Building in Washington, D.C. Within a short time, even county residents who had supported Nixon in the election began to ask questions. The *Spanish Fork Press* stated, "Speak up, President." The editorial continued, "The Watergate situation in Washington, D.C. is putting our President in a questionable light. . . . We all want him to say something."²² American citizens soon discovered that the Watergate break-in was just a small part of a broad campaign to sabotage political opposition and that, although the president did not apparently have advance knowledge of the break-in, he subsequently obstructed an investigation of it. After fighting a two-year battle, Nixon faced impeachment by the House of Representatives and resigned on 9 August 1974.

National affairs helped Congressman Gunn McKay to have even greater support in the midterm election of 1974; he easily defeated Republican challenger Ron Inkley. However, Republican E.J. "Jake" Garn won his bid for the U.S. Senate race, defeating his Democratic opponent, Wayne Owens, keeping the seat on the Republican side. Garn had a strong showing in Utah County. In 1976, although his support had slipped in the county, Gunn McKay still received a majority of votes and defeated his opponent in the First Congressional District. The county supported Republican gubernatorial candidate Vernon Romney—the first time since 1960 that it had gone Republican—but the majority in the state voted for Democrat Scott M. Matheson. Orrin Hatch began his rise to power by defeating Democratic incumbent Frank Moss, thus giving the Republicans both of Utah's Senate seats. Hatch had a solid majority in Utah County. Conservative activists placed three initiative proposals on the 1976 ballot. Voters approved one of these controversial initiatives, the "Freedom From Compulsory Fluoridation and



Robert F. Kennedy at BYU in 1968 campaigning for the U.S. Presidency. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

Medication Act,” which prohibited the Utah State Board of Health from adding fluorides and other medications to any public water supply—harkening back to the smallpox immunization controversy of an earlier day.

Gunn McKay’s fortunes fell in the county in the 1978 election when his political opponent Jed Richardson received a majority of votes. Nevertheless, McKay hung on to his seat by winning a majority of votes in the entire district. As the political landscape changed before county residents’ eyes during this period, Americans became involved in the country’s longest military conflict—the Vietnam War. Before it was finished, 58,000 Americans lost their lives in the conflict. Additionally, the United States failed to achieve its stated war aims—to preserve an independent noncommunist government in South Vietnam.

By and large, county residents supported American foreign policy in Southeast Asia because they believed Vietnam was an important Cold War battleground. During the course of the war, numerous county residents were drafted or joined branches of the military service. Besides leaving behind parents, spouses and friends, many

young people from the county experienced the struggles and difficulties of war. Unlike earlier generations, however, who enlisted in groups, most of the military service personnel went and returned from the war individually. In bigger communities like Provo, some served without their acquaintances being aware of the fact. The nature and conditions in Vietnam exposed young people to a wide variety of illegal drugs. Along with other social problems always associated with war, young people from the county were thrown into a different world.

The social division in the country because of the war made the situation totally different from any previous conflict. Vietnam became the first “television” war. Like the Kennedy assassination and the coming of the English popular music group the Beatles to America, county residents had events come into their homes in ways that affected how they perceived the world. Ray Huntington recalled, “Others were defining what the war meant by way of television. We talked about it. The fact is it was not a popular war.” Nevertheless, many young people who could not participate in the political debate through the vote still supported their country. Huntington added: “There was still enough patriotism that most of my friends decided that they would not go to Canada to avoid being drafted, but many of them were sure not volunteering like their fathers had done in World War II.”²³

George E. Morse of Provo served three tours of duty in Vietnam—in 1966, 1967, and 1969. For Morse, going to Southeast Asia was a culture shock. “I first saw how poor the people in Vietnam were,” he reported. Growing up in Utah County had not prepared him for the experiences of war and the poverty that confronted him. Reflectively, he said, “I couldn’t understand why we had so much and these kids were being left to starve to death.”²⁴ Kim Farnworth attended Orem High School and married before leaving for Vietnam at the age of eighteen. His wife gave birth to a son while he was in Vietnam. He later reflected on his feelings about the transition from being a peaceful county resident to a soldier required to kill: “It boils down to basic survival. There’s a very, very fine line that a person has to cross to actually kill. . . . Once you have crossed that fine line, it’s easy . . . it actually had become a game.”²⁵

Michael B. Terry graduated from Orem High School and then studied mathematics at BYU for three semesters before beginning military training. He recalled an experience about the brutality of war that came back to his memory on numerous occasions after he left Vietnam. It involved a massacre at the village of My Lai. He recalled, "There were dead people lying all over the place. I must have seen fifty or sixty that day." He continued: "[I] noticed some people lying in a ditch. It looked like a couple of them might still be alive." The people apparently were mortally wounded, so Terry and a fellow soldier decided that they "just had to make sure they were dead, because in our minds, they were goners no matter what. So we just made sure they were dead."²⁶

Like soldiers in the past who left Utah County, George Adams of Provo remembered as a nineteen year old the feeling of being away from home during the holidays: "The times that were extremely hard for most of us in Vietnam were holidays. Christmas, New Year's, Thanksgiving."²⁷ Robert Hughes from Spanish Fork High School told of the frustration of trying to finish his education during the war. He recalled: "In February 1967, I was only three months away from graduating from Brigham Young University. I was classified 1-A, and I received my draft notice while I was in school. . . . I asked the draft board if they could give me a little bit of time to graduate. They said, 'No.' So I joined the Marines."²⁸

Most county residents were not necessarily pleased with the draft law, but the majority also did not applaud those who sought to avoid military service by leaving the country. A month after the 1973 cease-fire, 80 percent of those in the state reportedly opposed giving amnesty to those who fled the county in order to avoid the draft. A year later, the number stood at 70 percent opposed to any form of amnesty. The *Spanish Fork Press* ran an editorial by Ted L. Hanks, who answered the question "Amnesty?" with a resounding "No!" Hanks reasoned, "If this is done, how can our nation vindicate itself in the eyes of those who dedicated time and were disrupted in their personal pursuits?" He added: "What kind of an excuse can we mumble to those that were maimed. Or what type of citation or memorial do we send to the loved ones of those who didn't return?"²⁹

While the cost of conducting the Vietnam War was tremendous

in terms of the loss of life and military expense, the domestic fallout from the conflict was equally profound. The war brought an end to the domestic consensus that had sustained U.S. Cold War policies since World War II. Even in conservative Utah County, a sense of frustration developed as the war continued, especially after the Tet Offensive launched in January 1968 by the Vietcong, who struck throughout South Vietnam. As dissent spread across college campuses throughout the nation, BYU also experienced antiwar protests, though they were of a different, less militant character than those at most campuses.³⁰

Certainly, the scope of antiwar expression at BYU was limited by the university administration and by the consensus in support of U.S. policy by the majority of conservative students attending the school during the war. In fact, in October 1965, more than 6,500 students and faculty signed a petition in support of the war that was sent to President Lyndon B. Johnson. The packet was delivered to the main Provo post office by nearly eighty BYU students, who marched through the streets carrying signs and singing songs such as the national anthem and the BYU pep song.³¹

Brigham Young University supported an Air Force ROTC unit, beginning in 1951, and an Army ROTC unit, beginning in 1968. By 1970 more than 500 Army cadets were part of the student body, by far the largest volunteer Army ROTC unit in the West. To reassert patriotism on campus, university administrators initiated such things as "Military Week" and "America Week." However, some students who opposed the war began writing letters to the editor in the BYU paper, the *Daily Universe*. Another indication of a growing disillusionment to the war was the rousing welcome that Robert F. Kennedy received at BYU. An ardent critic of the Johnson administration's war policy, Kennedy received a standing ovation during his visit, the only politician to receive one in the 1960s.

The *U.S. News & World Report* stated in January 1969 that BYU was "an oasis of calm amidst campus turmoil."³² Although the statement was generally true, not all students were prepared to keep silent on the issues. Shortly thereafter, student activists began demanding change at BYU. After an encounter on campus with student activists in May 1969, BYU President Ernest Wilkinson remarked in his diary,

“It was apparent to me from this confrontation that there is more unrest on campus than there has been in any previous year.”³³

Among the sixty-one county residents (not including BYU students) killed in the conflict were Ernest Fowlke, Michael Hippach, Robert Sawaya, Charles Maurin, and Franklin Caras—whose last names indicate the expanding ethnic diversity in the county. Like earlier conflicts, surviving service personnel returned home to begin life again. The conclusion of the war also brought to the county a group of refugees from Southeast Asia—another wave of migration to Utah County. For example, Liem Quang Le, born in Vietnam in 1955, had served in the Army of the Republic of Vietnam from 1972 until 1975. Le immigrated to the United States and found employment at Geneva Steel. Others from Southeast Asia came to the county looking for the freedom that American forces had represented in their war against communism.³⁴

Anh Le and Hong Nguyen, a Buddhist couple, came to the county with their children to find a new beginning after escaping the horrors of war in their homeland. At first, before finding their own home, the family lived with Roger and Moana Wilcox in Orem. Three children (Long, Trinh, and Lan) began taking advantage of the educational opportunities in the county and worked towards integrating into American society.³⁵ Others from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam also came to the county.

The county contributed in other ways to the healing process of the war, including helping to create a state memorial to those who died in the conflict. Neil Hadlock of Wasatch Bronzeworks of Lehi cast Clyde Ross Morgan’s statue memorializing the Vietnam veterans. Dedicated in October 1989, the memorial is located on the west side of the Utah State Capitol Building grounds and features an eight-foot-high statue of a soldier returning from battle with his buddy’s rifle, flanked by a curved, gray granite wall with polished black granite panels on which are inscribed the names of the 388 men and one woman from Utah who died or were listed as missing in action in Vietnam between 13 August 1963 and 4 April 1975. Among the names are those of sixty-one Utah County residents.

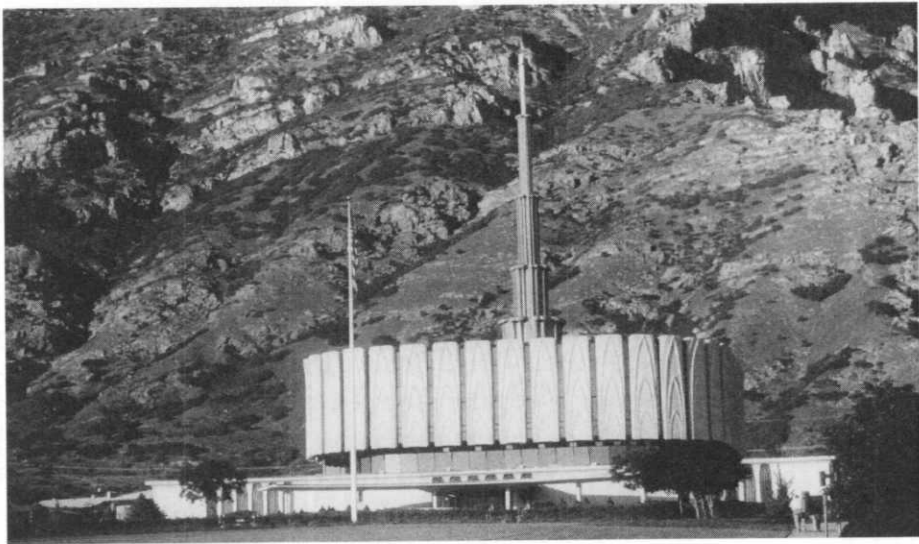
Respite from the pressures of school and the Vietnam conflict was enjoyed by students. Water skiing, hiking, horseback riding, fish-

ing, and hunting continued to attract local residents, BYU students, and visitors. At BYU, even the school president provided relief. Joel Janetski recalled: "I was a student under 'Ernie' [Ernest L. Wilkinson]. Once he did 100 push ups at an assembly at the old Smith Fieldhouse as the entire student body shouted out-loud the numbers of push-ups. It was incredible. It left a great impression on my mind as one of the clearest memories I have from that time at BYU."³⁶

Although many students responded to Wilkinson's physical feats, for which he became famous, he could not contain the growing opposition to the war at the university. Resistance to the war was primarily represented by students' unwillingness to enlist in large numbers, as had been the case during World War II. Most endeavored to remain in school instead of volunteering for service.

At the end of the 1960s, Americans in general needed a break from the military and political failures in Vietnam and the assassination of national leaders like John and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. Scientists at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) provided that break in July 1969—landing a man on the moon. Far from Utah County in the Pacific Ocean, one Springville resident, Richard Stokes, was aboard the *USS Hornet* waiting to pick up the three astronauts from the spacecraft that traveled from earth to a lunar orbit that put Neil Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldren of Apollo 11 within striking distance of the moon.³⁷ On 20 July county residents with the rest of the nation witnessed these two Americans become the first humans to walk on the moon. The 1960s—a period of great social, political, and economic change—ended five months later, as county residents prepared for a new decade, hoping for stability and prosperity.

Local sports continued to draw the attention of county residents. The favorite sports remained football, basketball, and baseball at area high schools and at BYU. Clyde Williams, who lived near the BYU campus, recalled: "I remember going to BYU football games [in the early 1960s] at the old stadium located where the Richards PE building stands [in 1995]." Local kids belonged to the "knothole club." Clyde noted, "We paid something like a dime or a quarter and then crawled through a 'knothole' and were given a candy bar and then sat in the bleachers near the end zone."³⁸



Provo LDS Temple after its dedication on 9 February 1972. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

Spring found young boys, their parents, coaches, and umpires at the local Little League field. As the season drew on, some local teams played teams from out of state, allowing those Little Leaguers to come in contact with the larger America. Ray Huntington of Springville recalled, "The first time I saw a black was when a team came from California to play our team in a championship. Since my Dad was involved in organizing the games in the region, we had some of the boys come stay at our home. This one black player was assigned to my house."³⁹ The world was changing for many locals with the help of media (especially television), environmental concerns, and interaction with people from outside of Utah who visited, stayed, or studied in Utah Valley.

During the 1960s and 1970s, as might be expected, religion continued to play a significant role in the lives of many county residents. Yet the social disruptions of the 1960s had an impact, as some children demonstrated their rejection of parental and community traditions. Music, dress styles, drug use, and hair length were avenues to demonstrate independence from authority—especially the authority of parents. In Utah County, however, church participation also

became a means of protest. Kathleen Lois Ashbridge Hartman Duvall recalled her interesting and unusual experience of being raised a Protestant and attending a Catholic school in a predominantly LDS community. Her grandmother was Roman Catholic, and her father was raised in that faith; her mother was a Protestant. Duvall recalled, "Religion played a big part, coming from that kind of environment." In Utah County, Duvall went to several different churches: "[W]e went to the Baptist Church that is up on the top of Columbia Lane [in Provo]. After that, we went out to Pleasant Grove. I ended up, somehow, going to St. Francis [High School in Provo] for four years." Finishing high school in 1969, she stopped attending church regularly and said later: "I don't go to church, but I believe in God, and I tried to instill that in my own children. But I was forced when I was in my teens to go to church, and I said I would not do that with my kids."⁴⁰

Suzan Carol Hicken recalled growing up in the 1950s and 1960s in a very religious home in Utah County. She noted that her mother was so religious that "on Sundays we usually didn't have much outside activity." The focus of activity at home was a big family dinner on Sundays. "If we tried to sew on Sundays," she recalled, "mother would tell us that when we died and went to heaven, we would have to pick all the stitches out with our nose, and that really scared us." Later, church activity became an issue. Hicken noted: "I had had enough of [religion] when I was a child and I was very rebellious." Church inactivity continued to be an issue after she married. After significant pressure from in-laws, she tried to come back to church. She remembered: "I did what I thought I was supposed to, so we went to this thing called Project Temple. When the time came for us to go through [the temple], the bishop took my husband and told him to quit smoking." She added, "My husband became upset, and literally told him to go to hell." Duvall knew that a most forceful act of protest in the predominantly Mormon community against the family's pressure was to begin smoking and drinking alcohol, both officially prohibited by the Mormon church. Shortly thereafter, she "got so drunk I was sick all the way back home, but I was just bound and determined to drink and smoke and I did."⁴¹

As parents and church leaders throughout the county tried to

keep their children from rejecting their religious traditions during this period of unrest, progress among the various religious congregations continued in their building programs and expansion. The Assembly of God churches in Utah County witnessed steady growth in membership and participation through the 1960s. Eventually, the Provo church entered a building program in 1972, planning to erect a new structure in Edgemont. With almost entirely volunteer labor, the main chapel was completed in a year and a half, but the basement was not completely furnished and ready for use until two years later.

Members of the Episcopal church were saddened in 1960 when their priest, Reverend Phillip Kemp, suffered a heart attack in May and died less than one day after he had participated in St. Mary's conversion from a mission to a parish. Those saddened by his sudden death included not only members of the church but also members of the local Masonic fraternity (where Kemp had been active) and Provo community leaders. In January 1961 Reverend Roger H. Wood became the new vicar and immediately took an active role in the broader community in keeping with a tradition practiced by most of those who served at the pulpit. Wood was a lawyer in addition to being an ordained priest. His interests during this period included work at the Utah State Prison, the Utah State Hospital, the American Fork Training School, the Utah County Mental Health Association, Rotary Club, and a number of programs for the youth in the county (including Boy Scout and college-fellowship programs). Building expansion during this time included demolishing the old parish hall and building a new one in 1962, dedicating it on 4 November.⁴² The first woman to serve in the vestry was elected in 1965 when Mrs. Harry Edmunds was chosen—demonstrating the increasingly important role women played in the parish ministry and leadership.

The Episcopal church experienced a five-year period without the services of a full-time local priest beginning in 1973. Under the leadership of Earl T. Oss and Richard Weissert, however, the church moved forward in meeting the needs of local members. In 1978 a full-time vicar came to Provo, German native Reverend Gerhard Laun. His interests went beyond the immediate needs of the congregation; for example, as a growing problem with drugs became appar-

ent locally, Laun became involved in the Gathering Place, a counseling center in Orem for the rehabilitation of drug addicts.

In 1967 the Catholic church invited the Episcopal and Provo Community Congregational church leaders to teach classes on the Bible and on Christian ethics to the non-Catholic students enrolled at St. Francis Catholic School.⁴³ Additionally, in 1969 and 1970, two Catholic missions were established in Utah County to meet the needs of the growing Catholic community. The first was San Andres, in Payson, and the second was St. Peter's, in American Fork. By March 1970, a 7.5-acre tract of land was purchased for an anticipated Catholic church building in American Fork.⁴⁴ Eventually, this piece of property was exchanged with the LDS church for a larger tract (ten acres) so a Mormon ward could expand at Ninth East and Fourth North in American Fork. On 21 July 1974 St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church was dedicated by Bishop Joseph Federal of the Salt Lake City Diocese.

The increased LDS population in the county generated a flurry of activity in building new Mormon chapels, increasing BYU's campus facilities, expanding the Missionary Training Center, expanding the Deseret Industry program, and erecting the first LDS temple in Utah County. Ground was broken for the Provo LDS Temple on 15 September 1969, and the building was completed and dedicated on 9 February 1972. Its lighted spire at night and its place on the bench overlooking the valley make the temple one of the most conspicuous visual images in the county. Completing the temple made Utah County a self-sufficient Mormon region, no longer dependent upon the Salt Lake City or Manti temples for marriage ceremonies or other religious rites.

The Mormon focus on the county continued, as the LDS church maintained one of its three Language Training Missions (LTMs) in connection with BYU in Provo during this period. By 1971 more than 2,500 missionaries had received language training before beginning their proselyting activities throughout an ever-increasing field of labor. In 1973 the LDS Church Missionary Committee approved plans to build a complex in Provo large enough to meet the needs of all language training; it then combined the LTM centers at Rexburg, Idaho, and Laie, Hawaii, with the one in Provo. By 1976 the first

phase had been established near BYU and the Provo Temple. Additionally, the church began sending all men, women, and couples called from the United States or Canada directly to Provo for training, thus eliminating the Mission Home training center in Salt Lake City in 1978. The name of the facility was changed to the Missionary Training Center (MTC) at that time. With the additional development and the expansion of BYU, Utah County became one of the most dynamic centers of Mormon society in North America—attracting Latter-day Saints who visit, study, and live in the county.

The place of religion in Utah County is almost impossible to overstate. The National Council of Churches of Christ conducted a survey on churches and church membership in the United States in 1973 and found Utah to be the highest-churched state in the nation (nearly 82 percent). Utah County's Christian adherents stood at more than 92 percent—well over the national average of just under 50 percent.

In spite of increased diversity and secularization resulting from World War II and the industrialization of the region in the decades following the conclusion of the war, the LDS church continued to include on its rolls more than 90 percent of the county's population—130,552 members, of the county's total population of 144,600 in 1973. The county's LDS preponderance is even more evident when active or registered church memberships of all faiths are compared. Of these, 97.8 percent were Mormons, while 0.9 percent were Roman Catholic, leaving just 1.3 percent of the church population thinly scattered in the memberships of all the county's other churches.

Perhaps surprisingly, the second largest group in the county was those unaffiliated with a church, at 11,155 (7.7 percent). A distant third was the Roman Catholic church, with 1,180 members (0.9 percent). Other religious denominations in the county had a total membership of 1,713: the United Church of Christ, 502; Southern Baptist Convention, 305; the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, 194; Lutheran church (Missouri Synod), 193; the Episcopal church, 160; the Assemblies of God, 129; Seventh-Day Adventist, 101; Church of God, 67; Greek Orthodox, 26; United Methodist church, 25; Christian Reformed church, 11.⁴⁵ A small number of students at BYU

and a few other county residents represented non-Christians groups (Buddhist, Jews, Muslims, Hindus, and Native American religions).

As county residents participated in the American bicentennial celebrations of 1976, tragedy struck three families in Utah County and made national news. The event subsequently impacted the criminal justice system throughout the United States. On Monday night, 19 July, Max Jensen was murdered at a service station in Orem. The following night, twenty-five-year-old Bennie Jenkins Bushnell was murdered at a motel in Provo. County residents were dazed by the murder on Tuesday because, as a local paper reported, "It was the second time in two days that a homicide-robbery had occurred in Utah Valley."⁴⁶ The killing of two young men within a two-day period shocked the county. The next day, 21 July, law officers from Provo, Orem, Pleasant Grove, and the Utah Highway patrol descended upon a suspect in Pleasant Grove. Thirty-five-year-old Gary Mark Gilmore of Springville was arrested.

Only later did residents discover that Gilmore may have committed both crimes. On 22 July Gilmore was arraigned in Orem on his second charge of first-degree murder. Gilmore had been charged and arraigned in Provo City Court the day before on a charge of murdering Bushnell. Just days earlier, the Provo *Daily Herald* reported: "Utah has five men on Death Row who were affected by today's Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of capital punishment."⁴⁷ Among the five was Darrell Devere Poulsen, who had been sentenced to die for raping and killing eleven-year-old Karen Ann Mechling of American Fork on 17 September 1961. Eventually, Poulsen was released; Gilmore was not.

On Monday morning, 17 January 1977, a black corduroy hood was placed over Gilmore's head. The warden gave the signal, and at 8:07 A.M. a firing squad pumped a volley of rifle slugs at a round white target pinned to Gilmore's chest. The deadly rifle fire ended a lengthy saga in which Gilmore finally won the right to "die with dignity, like a man," as he expressed it.⁴⁸ Family members wrote the prison officials that the family did not hold the officials responsible for the execution. "Your shots didn't kill Gary Gilmore, his life did. I hope you take this as a feeling from our hearts."⁴⁹ The nation watched and waited for news from Utah on that morning, since Gilmore's exe-

cution was the first after a moratorium of ten years on executions in the United States. His death was followed by legal executions elsewhere.

Societies, clubs, lodges, and fraternal associations organized by residents for the betterment of the society continued to play a role in cultural patterns of Utah County. By 1978, Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP) had eighty-eight camps, consisting of 1,726 members; Sons of Utah Pioneers (SUP) had three camps, consisting of 122 members; Rotary International had five clubs consisting of 264 members; Kiwanis International had eight clubs consisting of 336 members; Masons had two lodges consisting of 322 members; Order of the Eastern Star had one lodge consisting of 91 members; Independent Order of Odd Fellows had three lodges consisting of 30 members; Rebekahs had one lodge consisting of 21 members; Loyal Order of Moose had one lodge consisting of 200 members; and Knights of Columbus had one council consisting of 111 members.⁵⁰

The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America showed remarkable strength in Utah County during this period. The Boy Scout's Utah National Parks Council, which included Utah County, included nearly 25,000 scouts. The Girl's Scout's District VI, which included Utah County, included 1,723 scouts. While the LDS church was the largest institutional sponsor of Boy Scouts in the county, a few other denominations and civic sponsors also supported the movement. The difference between the numbers involved in Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts programs relates to the fact that girl scouting is not part of the Mormon church's youth program.⁵¹

As the county marched closer to the 1980s, a story helped divert the citizens' attention from the day-to-day experiences of life. The time was one of reflection for many county residents. Born in New York, Alan Cherry converted to Mormonism in 1968 and, like many young adult converts, moved to Provo to attend school at BYU. Attending school intermittently through 1973, Cherry became involved in a variety of activities, including working at Geneva Steel, writing books, and working in the entertainment industry. Unlike "New York City or Mississippi," Cherry recalled, he never experienced in Utah County the overt racism that so many black Americans knew too well. Locally, however, this black Mormon did experience what

he termed “nuisances.” He was pelted with an egg and stopped by police officers who made assumptions about a black man driving in a white neighborhood at night, and he was the target of racial slurs.⁵² Cherry figured that such actions had to do with culture, not religion. Utah County remained to a great extent a racially homogenous society. By the end of the decade (1980), whites still represented nearly 97 percent of the population—211,320 of 218,106 inhabitants. Hispanics, the second-largest group, represented 2.30 percent (5,040 people); Asian/Pacific Islanders represented 0.91 percent (1,979) of the county’s population; Native Americans represented 0.86 percent (1,879), and blacks represented only 0.07 percent (148 people).⁵³

In June 1978 the LDS church announced a new policy statement regarding priesthood ordination, allowing black males to hold the Mormon priesthood. Cherry recalled, “I had never thought it was going to happen. No one expected this to happen.”⁵⁴ The announcement changed the way the nation and the world viewed the region and how many county residents viewed black Americans. Protests against BYU sports teams stopped, recruiting black student athletes became easier for the BYU athletic program, and a new era of black-white relations dawned in the county.

As the 1970s ended, the county had become quite a distinct political region, strongly identified with conservative Republican party politics. This shift continued in the 1980s and 1990s, making Utah the most Republican-dominated state in the nation and making Utah County one of the most Republican counties in the state. Additional differences are shown in a number of demographic statistics that demonstrate the underlying differences between Utah and its neighbors—making it a distinctive society. The consumption of malt beverages in Utah (15.4 gallons per capita) was well below the national average of 22.7 gallons and was significantly lower than that of other intermountain states (which ranged between 25.1 and 36.0 gallons per capita). Crime rates for the Provo-Orem area were significantly lower than most when it was ranked against 257 other cities of similar size. For example, in violent crimes (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault), Provo-Orem ranked 242nd of the 257.⁵⁵ These statistics may help explain why Utah’s average lifetime expectancy (72.90 years for both sexes) was higher than the national average

(70.75 years for both sexes). In fact, only two states had a higher life expectancy for both sexes than Utah—Hawaii and Minnesota.

Utah County's lifestyle and religious environment (large Mormon families and the increasing significance of BYU and other LDS institutions) may help to explain population changes during this period—a 68 percent increase, from 106,991 in 1960 to 137,776 in 1970. By 1980 the county's population stood at 218,106—nearly a 58 percent increase in growth during the decade. Population density increased from 53.5 persons per square mile in 1960 to 107.2 in 1980. Additionally, several “new” communities developed and were recognized as distinct entities; Cedar Hills (1974), Elk Ridge–Salem Hills (1971), and Woodland Hills (1970). By the end of the 1970s, each was incorporated, as was Highland, which had been settled much earlier.

Many of the local communities which absorbed this growth showed phenomenal population increases. Between 1960 and 1980, Alpine grew from 775 to 2,649 inhabitants, American Fork from 6,373 to 12,564, Genola from 380 to 630, Goshen from 426 to 582, Lindon from 1,150 to 2,796, Mapleton from 1,516 to 2,726, Orem from 18,394 to 52,399, Payson from 4,237 to 8,246, Pleasant Grove from 4,772 to 10,833, Provo from 36,047 to 74,108, Salem from 920 to 2,233, Santaquin from 1,183 to 2,175, Spanish Fork from 6,472 to 9,825, and Springville from 7,913 to 12,101. By 1980, newly incorporated communities in the county also demonstrated growth—Cedar Hills had a population of 571, Elk Ridge had 381, Highland had 2,435, and Woodland Hills had 60 residents.⁵⁶

This growth did not stabilize during the last two decades of the twentieth century. It was part of the rising tide of another significant wave of migration which flooded into the county—just as the computer revolution was about to explode on the scene.

ENDNOTES

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2. D. Robert Carter, interview with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 28 September 1995, transcript in possession of the author.

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5. *Pleasant Grove Review*, 28 November 1963.
6. *American Fork Citizen*, 28 November 1993.
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25. Kim Farnworth, interview, as cited in *ibid.*, 119–20.
26. Michael B. Terry, interview, as cited in *ibid.*, 123–24.
27. George L. Adams, interview, as cited in *ibid.*, 140.
28. Robert W. Hughes, interview, as cited in *ibid.*, 6–7.

29. *Spanish Fork Press*, 10 April 1974.
30. See Kenneth D. Magdiel, "Action and Reaction: Student Activism and the Vietnam War at Brigham Young University, 1965–1970," *The Thetean* (April 1988): 1–17.
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34. Liem Quang Le, interview, as cited in Roy et al., *A Time to Kill*, 223.
35. *Utah County Journal*, 26 November 1992.
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38. Clyde Williams to Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 24 November 1995.
39. Ray Lynn Huntington, interview with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 22 October 1995, transcript in possession of author.
40. Kathleen Lois Ashbridge Hartman Duvall, interview with Jennifer Hartman, n.d., *Utah Generations* 1.
41. Suzan Carol Hicken, interview with Jayson Messick, n.d., *Utah Generations* 1.
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43. *Provo Daily Herald*, 1 October 1967.
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51. *Ibid.*, 157.
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53. More than 2,700 individuals' races, including Cambodian, Indochinese, Pakistani, Indonesians, were not included on the census questionnaire; see Wahlquist, *Atlas of Utah*, 273.
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CHAPTER 14

THE EXPANDING EDUCATIONAL HORIZON

Educational programs in Utah County began in 1850 when a log schoolhouse was constructed in the new fort at Provo. Officially, "An Act in Relation to Common Schools," approved on 3 March 1852, stipulated: "It shall be the duty of the County Court in each county, to divide . . . their respective counties into proper school districts, and cause to be elected by the qualified voters in each district, three Trustees, who may appoint their own clerk."¹ Three other sections outlined how common schools were to be organized and administered by the counties, including the establishment of a board of school teacher examiners. Under the provisions of this legislation, on 19 April Utah County officials appointed Alanson Norton, John Banks, and Joseph Kelley as examiners. By December, many ward schools had "commodious and comfortable school houses," yet many of those applying for teaching positions failed their examinations.²

In 1860, the office of county superintendent of common schools was created by the territorial legislature. Charles D. Evans filled the position in Utah County and reported on 20 October: "Several commodious school rooms are in the course of construction."³ While



Spanish Fork First Ward School. With the rise of a public school system in the county, names for local schools changed from ward designation, like the Spanish Fork First Ward School, to those honoring individuals and geographical place names such as Alpine Elementary, American Fork High School, Central Elementary, Canyon Crest Elementary, Highland Elementary, Goshen Elementary, Mapleton Elementary, Payson Junior High School, Dan W. Peterson School, Orchard Elementary, Sego Lily Elementary, Geneva Elementary, Lakeridge Junior High, Manilla Elementary, Larsen Elementary, Taylor Elementary, Wilson Elementary, Rocky Mountain Elementary, New Spanish Fork Middle School, Grant Elementary, Springville Middle School, Wilson Elementary, and Timpview High School. (Utah State Historical Society)

there was a scarcity of textbooks during this period and local schools used whatever books were available, there is little evidence that the Bible and other Latter-day Saint scriptures were actually used on a regular basis in the county. However, since the majority of children and teachers were LDS and the local schools were often convened in LDS meetinghouses, county schools reflected to a great extent the values of the local Mormon community. As educational historian Frederick S. Buchanan notes: “[Utah] schools prior to 1890 were vital components of Mormon culture.”⁴ Like many other religious groups in America at the time, such as the Amish and the Mennonites, the

Mormons felt that local community values were an essential aspect of education and therefore sought to control who taught what in the classroom. Similar efforts in other American schools throughout the country have been described as “democratic localism.”⁵

Schools were organized on the basis of church wards and were supported by a combination of tuition and local taxes. Although church leaders advocated basic schooling, they nevertheless believed that financing and directing educational programs were the responsibilities of the local church units in the Mormon settlements and often opposed tax-supported public schools. In particular, Brigham Young believed that public schooling would create class divisions and inequalities in Mormon society and, because the schools would be tax supported, Young felt they would not be able to teach LDS doctrines and values.⁶

Generally, the schools in Utah County were small one-room classes with all ages combined—like those of many other western communities. Many found it difficult to obtain schooling beyond the first few years. Also, even when schools were operating in the towns of the county, the school year was often very short.

Most of the Utah County schools in the 1860s and 1870s continued to be essentially parochial in nature—serving the needs of the Mormon majority. The schools were public, however, because they were open to all children and were partly supported by local taxes in addition to student tuition. As Utah schools made the transition from pioneer schools to a viable public school system, non-Mormons in the territory introduced private Protestant schools in Utah County during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Their purposes and goals were not simply to offer an alternative to the LDS-dominated school system but to convert local Mormons. One Presbyterian wrote that “the principle [sic] power of overthrowing Mormonism is the . . . weapon of intelligence, [and] . . . the work of evangelization in Utah is the work of education.”⁷

In 1878 the Presbyterian church announced plans to establish several academies, including one in Springville, and several grade schools, including schools in American Fork, Pleasant Grove, Spanish Fork, Payson, and Benjamin.⁸ The Methodist church also operated schools in Utah, including an academy in Payson—Iliff Academy.



Lehi High School students about 1910. (Utah State Historical Society)

Baptists introduced their own schools, including one in Provo. The Congregational church established grade schools in Lehi and Provo and Proctor Academy in Provo.⁹

Large sums of money were donated by interested groups and individuals in the East.¹⁰ The Congregationalist's New West Education Commission alone invested approximately \$400,000 in its efforts to provide schooling for Mormon children. People in Auburn, New York, contributed to erecting a building in Springville for Presbyterians. Dedicated in December 1879, the facility cost more than \$2,000.¹¹ Because the LDS church had established an academy at Provo—Brigham Young Academy—the Presbyterians wanted to retain those students who were advancing to higher grades within their system. Therefore, they asked for additional funds to enlarge their facilities. The cost of building an academy was substantially helped by the generous donation of \$5,000 by Mrs. M.P. Hungerford of Westfield, New York. When completed, it was named Hungerford Academy in honor of the donor. This institution continued in operation until 1912; among its students was Cyrus E. Dallin, who later became a well-known sculptor.

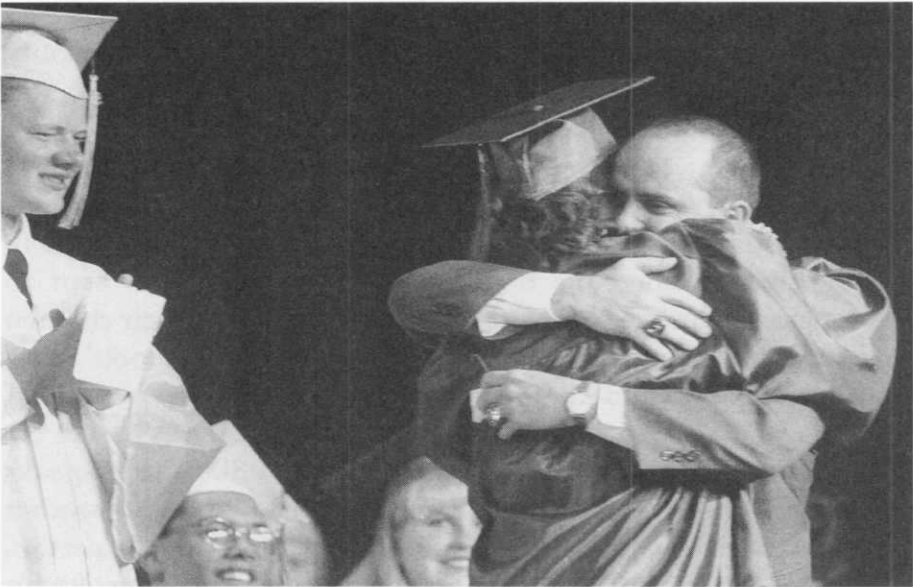
Shortly after the introduction of Protestant schools in the terri-

tory, the Mormons realized these schools were intent on weaning their children from the faith rather than simply providing quality education with a Protestant bias. What was a stake, they argued, was the heart and minds of the “sons and daughters of this people.”¹²

Friction between Protestant schoolteachers and their Mormon neighbors grew more tense in March 1882 when the federal government passed the Edmunds Act. Blaming the Protestant educators in part for what Mormons believed to be false reports sent to Washington about them, many Mormons began taking their children out of the Protestant schools. Others spoke against the schools’ activities, and some tried to minimize the impact of the local teachers. A woman from the East, a Miss Carter, who came to Utah as part of the Protestant school movement, wrote that the Lehi bishop “speaks nearly every meeting against me.”¹³ Carrie Hunt, a Protestant teacher from the East teaching in Lehi, noted that there was “a certain ostracism ever present to a worker situated as we are almost exclusively among Mormons.”¹⁴ Additional hostility surfaced between the competing school systems in the county with the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887, when non-Mormons replaced those of the LDS faith in territorial school offices.

Conflicts regarding educational issues in the county were not only between Mormons and others but also between competing Protestant denominations from time to time. In Provo, for example, Congregationalist and Presbyterian teachers fought over the limited number of students available for their schools. Competition for students weakened the educational programs of both churches, but compromise softened the effects of this conflict when the Congregationalists agreed that their teacher would give up trying to establish a school in Logan if the Presbyterians, in return, would agree to leave to the Congregationalists the educational work they had begun in Provo.

Infighting among teachers, ministers, and missionaries in the various denominations also added problems. Sometimes teachers seemed more dedicated to educating the Mormon children than to proselytizing them. With different expectations, those who normally allied themselves together found themselves in opposition to each other. One Protestant school administrator accused a local minister



Graduations at Provo School District's alternative high school, Independence High School, on 22 May 1997, indicates the concerns and efforts of public educators trying to meet the needs of young people in the county during a new period of growth and development. (Marc J. Lester, *Daily Herald*)

in Provo of being a wife beater.¹⁵ In turn, some ministers questioned the loyalty of the teachers at the local Protestant school. A Miss French in Provo had to defend herself against accusations that she attended the Baptist church while in the employ of the Congregational church.¹⁶ Sometimes, teachers came under attack for their private life. One report noted that if a Miss Foster “stays at Provo she will be kept up half the night all this summer by Tom, Dick and Harry, who like moths persist in buzzing about a flame.”¹⁷ Four days later, New West administrators were informed that Foster also “kept company with married men and that she had similar problems when she taught at Lehi.”¹⁸

Of particular concern to some Congregationalist ministers and missionaries was the lack of conversion of Mormons who attended New West's free schools. The ministers and missionaries felt the schools were not doing enough evangelizing in classes; however, local Congregationalist teachers believed they were fulfilling their com-

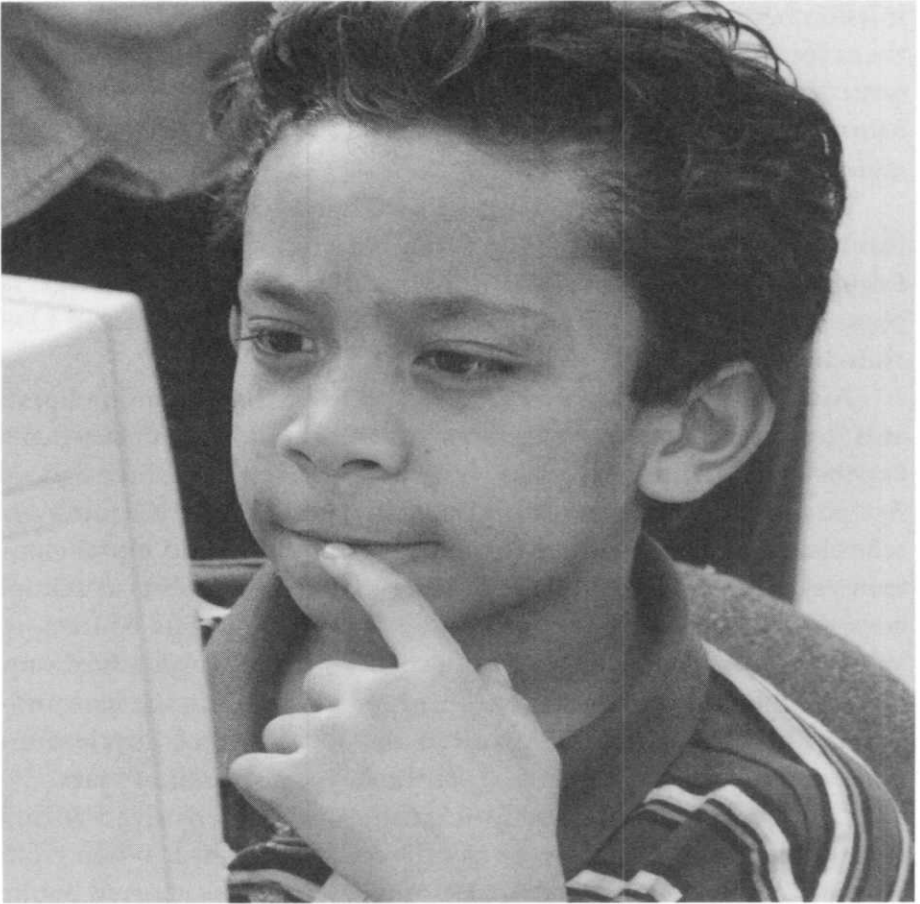
mission better than were the ministers and missionaries and blamed them for the lack of converts. One critic suggested that the schools were "in great danger of simply training bright recruits for the Mormon church and giving young infidels the added efficiency of an education."¹⁹

Eventually, the U.S. Congress promised to provide adequate funding for public schools in Utah when Congress ratified the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887. Ironically, the money Congress planned to send to Utah was, in actuality, coming from seized LDS church funds.

After political peace was achieved between the Mormon church and the federal government, most county residents supported the expansion of the public system of education. The 1890 Free School Act passed by the territorial legislature provided tax support for schools, making schools free for all children over six and under eighteen years of age; it also made the attendance of students at school compulsory. The act was a major step forward in public education. While various issues such as school spending, teacher qualifications, and building improvements continued to be debated in the new public school system, who controlled the local school curriculum remained the single largest issue for the next one hundred years.

In 1892 the board of school trustees was reorganized with a chairman, clerk, and treasurer as officers of the board. When Utah became a state in 1896, free secular public schools, supported by the state constitution (which prohibited sectarian control), became at least a technical reality. Many Protestant schools had succeeded in part because students did not pay tuition to attend them. The Free School Act of 1890 made district schools much more attractive by making them free. Many local students in Utah County transferred from Protestant schools to district schools as a result. In addition, the announcement of the Manifesto in 1890, which began the process of ending plural marriages, took some of the wind out of the Protestants' ability to raise funds in the East to support their school systems in Utah.

These changes spelled doom for most of the Protestant schools in Utah County, and, within a short time, many of them began to consolidate their efforts. The height of enrollment in Protestant



George Folaumahina, a student at Franklin Elementary School, uses a school computer to complete an assignment on 3 March 1997. Computer training is just one of the new developments in education as the county moves into the Twenty-first Century. (Brian Winter, *Daily Herald*)

schools occurred in the late 1880s. By 1913 all Presbyterian schools were closed in Utah County. Springville's school closed in 1913; Payson's in 1909; Spanish Fork's in 1905; Pleasant Grove's in 1901; and Benjamin's in 1901. On 17 May 1920 a group from Proctor Academy assembled at the Provo Community Church to honor the academy's final three graduates. Later that summer, the academy building was sold to the Elks Lodge.

The rise of the public school system in the county coincided with

the decline of private religious schools sponsored by the Protestant churches and the LDS church, except for the latter's Brigham Young Academy in Provo. Originally, the official definition of the public school system included provisions for "kindergarten schools, common schools, consisting of primary and grammar grades; high schools, an agricultural college, a university; and such other schools as the Legislature may establish."²⁰ The last phrase allowed the state to establish additional schools for special needs, including the State Training School (now known as the Utah State Developmental Center) in 1929. Eventually built in American Fork, the institution opened its doors in 1931 to students with developmental disabilities from across the state and primarily served adults.

Few public high schools existed anywhere in Utah until the turn of the twentieth century. Soon, however, the high school movement spread throughout the county. Apparently, Provo organized a high school in 1895, although building for the high school began later. Springville built its first high school in 1909; Provo and American Fork followed in 1912. Other county residents also sought better educational opportunities for their students. In Orem, 138 citizens signed a petition addressed to the Alpine High School Board in January 1913 requesting that the board consider the citizens' particular needs. The petitioners claimed that many of the student-age population "are denied schooling altogether because they cannot afford to go to [Provo or Pleasant Grove] and our own school does not furnish the work they wish to take," having only a one-year course with one teacher. The citizens demanded that additional resources, including teachers, be supplied or that money be provided for "their tuition and transportation to the nearest high school which can supply their requirements."²¹ The emerging school system tried to overcome such complaints and obstacles.

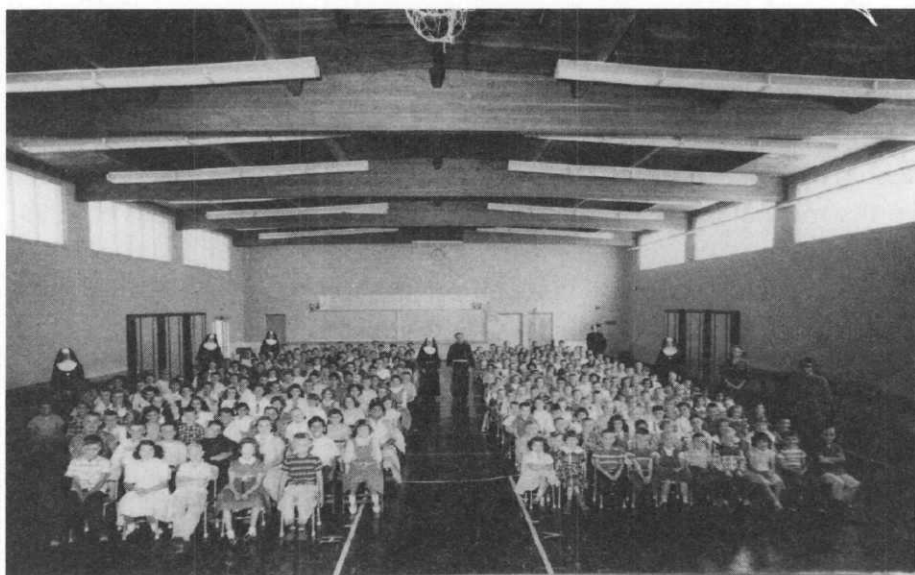
Just as many of the educational programs and issues in the nineteenth century were shaped by local circumstances, twentieth-century programs and issues were shaped in large part by the national social, economic, and political environment. As the demand for more efficient management of a growing public-school system throughout the United States gained momentum, state officials sought to consolidate and centralize schools in Utah. For many years, schools

throughout the county came under the direct supervision of a local board of trustees, all under a county superintendent of schools. In 1915, however, the state legislature authorized the formation of consolidated school districts—creating the Alpine, Provo City, and Nebo School Districts in the same year.

Some county residents became concerned when Utah Superintendent of Schools I.J. Muir announced he was in favor of a consolidated Alpine District high school in American Fork. The Lehi paper noted: “It isn’t hard to foretell how the local people will feel about this question, it is well that we awake to the move and keep in touch with anything that might come up.”²² In 1921, new Alpine School Board President F.D. Worlton indicated that a high school would be built on the tithing office site on the southeast corner of Center and Second North in Lehi. The plans were almost identical to those of Lincoln High School located in Orem, which was then under construction. When completed, both schools cost just under \$100,000 each.

Utah County’s educational development since the 1920s reflects national educational problems and issues. These include changing demographics of school-age children, increasing religious and ethnic diversity, adoption of academic performance standards and teacher qualifications, expanding services for students with disabilities and those from low-income families, improvement of overall school quality, concern for student behavior in and around school facilities, and the overhaul of school curricula.

The practice of naming of schools after prominent citizens of the county, state, and nation symbolized as much as anything the nationalization of public education in the county. However, there were some unique developments during this period which have brought the county to its present situation. Demographics in the county, for example, like those in other parts of the state, present some rather unique situations. By 1996 the distribution of children across the American landscape was remarkably uneven. Although California was the state with the largest number of children, Utah had with the highest percentage of its population below the age of eighteen years.²³ Utah County ranks twenty-third among the nation’s counties for the highest percentage of children—37.1 percent.²⁴ These numbers have



St. Francis Elementary School student body in 1955 consisted of more than four hundred students in grades one through eight. (Wilson Thomas)

a direct impact on educational programs within the county. Education has consumed a larger proportion of tax revenues in Utah than in any other state. Ironically, however, the resulting situation means that Utah has the lowest expenditure per student in the nation but ranks fifth in the percentage of personal income expended for education.

Utah County's three school districts (Alpine, Nebo, and Provo) play a significant role in providing adequate facilities, programs, administrators, and teachers for the young people in the area. By 1995 the Alpine School District had thirty elementary schools, eight junior high schools, five high schools, and two special-education schools. More than 42,000 students were enrolled in the district in October 1994. The total expenditures for the 1993–94 school year were more than \$144 million. Nearly 4,000 administrators, faculty, and staff were employed by the Alpine District during the 1993–94 year.²⁵ The Nebo School District had seventeen elementary schools, five junior high schools, three high schools, and one non-traditional school, with more than 18,000 enrolled as of 1995. The total district

expenditures for the 1994–95 school year were more than \$51 million. More than one thousand administrators, faculty, and staff were employed during the 1994–95 year.²⁶ The Provo City School District had twelve elementary schools, two junior high schools, three high schools, two schools for students with disabilities, and one school for young mothers. More than 26,000 students were enrolled as of 1995. The total expenditures for the 1994–95 school year for the Provo District were more than \$66 million. A total of 755 administrators, faculty, and staff were employed during the 1994–95 year.²⁷

Along with the increase in public school funding and expansion, several private elementary and secondary schools came into existence during the second half of the twentieth century. Mainly as a result of Geneva Steel's construction and continued operation, an increased Catholic presence in the area allowed the Catholic church to establish an elementary/middle school in Provo in 1955. Three years later, the Catholics expanded the program to include a high school. The resulting St. Francis School had at one time seventeen nuns, three priests, and two brothers involved in the educational responsibilities at the school. The school allowed Catholics in the county to educate their children in an atmosphere they felt was more harmonious with their social, moral, and religious culture. However, the school was not simply a reaction to local LDS dominance in the region. In a larger context, Catholic schools developed to some degree as a reaction to the larger Protestant culture in America that tended to discriminate against Catholics—mostly in subtle ways, but sometimes in blatant disregard for the Catholics' culture, beliefs, customs, and practices.

St. Francis sponsored typical school activities and participated in interschool athletic events. As many as 500 students were enrolled at the school in 1971, a surprisingly large number considering that the Catholic population in the county was fewer than 1,200 people. Like Mormons, Roman Catholics generally have large families, and thus a large percentage of Catholics often are school-age children. Additionally, some non-Catholics were drawn to the school because of the quality of education generally found in Catholic schools.

Along with other Catholic schools throughout the nation at this time, St. Francis School witnessed a critical lack of teachers from reli-

gious orders of the Catholic church, and local Catholics found they could not maintain the school with the high costs of bringing in professional lay teachers. As a result, the school closed in 1971. One local county resident and supporter of the school, Wilson Thomas, recalled: "Closing St. Francis School was the most traumatic event in the history of the Catholic Church in Utah County."²⁸ The private Waterford School eventually purchased the property in an effort to provide an alternative to the public school system in the county. Later, Waterford sold the property to Meridian School, another private school.

By 1997 several private educational facilities were established in the Utah County. Besides Meridian School one could choose the Benjamin Franklin Academy in Spanish Fork and Orem, a private K-12 school, with emphasis on constitutional and Christian values; Challenger School in Orem, a K-12 private school based upon a structured learning environment; Provo Canyon School in Provo, an alternative school for elementary and secondary students; several Montessori schools in American Fork, Provo, and Orem; Ivy Hall Academy in Provo, a pre-kindergarten to eighth-grade school; the Carden-Lee School; a Seventh-day Adventist School in Provo, a Christian school providing classes for first through eighth grades; and American Heritage School in Pleasant Grove, teaching kindergarten through sixth-grade classes.

Many parents and families in the county continued their interest in "home schooling." During the 1980s and 1990s, local papers reported a growing unrest among certain county residents. For example, the *Provo Daily Herald* noted in 1992 that the twelfth annual Home Education Convention and Curriculum Fair held at Utah Valley Community College (UVCC) attracted several hundred people.²⁹ An underlying message of the conference was an emphasis that "Parents love their children. That is not always true of public educators"—a message favorably received by many in conservative Utah County. In 1993 the conference attracted approximately 1,500 people to its annual meeting.³⁰ Many of those attending the conference at UVCC had turned away from the public school system because they believed home schooling provided better academic training, improved social integration through value-laden teaching,



Brigham Young Academy at the time of dedication in 1892. (Special Collection, BYU Archives)

and more relevant spiritual training reflecting a family's own beliefs. Attendees also believed that home schooling protected children from the problems of safety, negative peer pressure, and the emotional trauma that students sometimes experience in public schools.

Another aspect of the county's education system is the important role the LDS Church Educational System plays, both in terms of building space and salaries for high school teachers. The church program began in Salt Lake City in 1912 but soon spread to other areas within the state. John M. Whitaker, a teacher at the first LDS seminary at Granite High School in Salt Lake City, was invited by LDS leaders in American Fork to come to the area and talk about the new program on 14 October 1917. Whitaker later reported: "From a small beginning at Granite, with a few students, the movement has grown to include seminary programs in American Fork (175 students), Lehi (270 students) and Pleasant Grove (150 students) during the 1918–19 school year." Additionally, Whitaker noted, "new buildings are nearing completion for use this fall" in several locations, including

Spanish Fork and Payson. He concluded his letter by indicating that the "relationship between the High School and Seminary is cordial."³¹

Expansion continued through the 1920s and beyond. Under the direction of the Kolob LDS Stake, a seminary was organized in Springville in 1924. Students used the old Springville Second Ward Relief Society Hall until a building was constructed. It was funded by local assessments of LDS church units in Springville, Mapleton, Soldier Summit, and Thistle and was completed in 1928. By January 1995 the LDS Church Educational System operated thirty-two released-time seminaries and two institutes of religion (for college-age students) in Utah County. In addition, the system operated one special-education seminary. More than 23,000 students were enrolled in the program in the county—specifically, 19,327 in seminary programs and 4,005 in institute programs (primarily at Utah Valley State College in Orem).³² The educational system included the hiring of 151 full-time faculty, thirty part-time faculty, and thirty-seven administrative office personnel.

Until 1981, students in the program received graduation credits for attending Bible study classes. A federal court ruling in 1981 disallowed such credits, calling them unconstitutional. Nevertheless, this ruling also upheld the constitutionality of the released-time program. Understanding the impact of such a program in 1995 perhaps can best be accomplished by imagining the closure of seminaries throughout the county. Additional space for students remaining at the public schools and additional salaries for teachers to take charge of the students on the public campuses would have to be greatly increased.

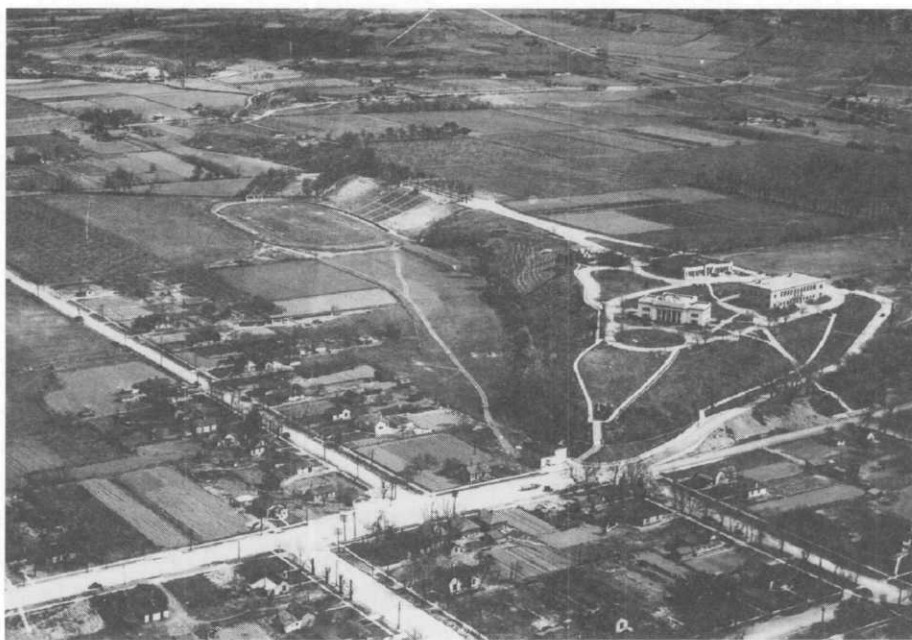
Along with the development of the LDS Church Educational System in Utah County, the Latter-day Saints have established the largest church-sponsored, private, post-secondary school in the nation, Brigham Young University. Established in Provo in 1875 to provide religious-centered education to LDS students of all ages in central Utah, the school was created under a deed of trust from Brigham Young. The institution's economic basis was placed in doubt at Young's death in 1877. However, two local Utah County businessmen, Abraham O. Smoot and Jesse Knight, and their families contributed greatly to the school, thus ensuring its continued existence.



Brigham Young Academy football team in 1897. (Utah State Historical Society)

Originally located in Lewis Hall in downtown Provo, the school moved after a fire destroyed the converted mercantile building in 1884. Eventually, a new academy building was dedicated in 1892. Other buildings were added to this block before the Maeser Building was erected on Temple Hill in 1911—thus initiating the slow but deliberate move from “Lower Campus” to “Upper Campus,” where the campus is located in 1998.

Several important people played significant roles in establishing Brigham Young Academy (renamed Brigham Young University in 1903).³³ Warren Dusenberry acted as principal during the first term in 1875–76. Subsequently, Karl G. Maeser, a well-educated German convert to Mormonism, presided over the institution. He led the school until 1892, when he was replaced by Benjamin Cluff, Jr., who emphasized teacher training and oversaw the construction of additional buildings on the Academy block. Pre-college students were the largest segment of the early student body; there were more than 800 non-college students compared to some 200 university students in 1910, for example.



An aerial of "Temple Hill" after BYU began expanding beyond the Academy Block in 1911. By the 1950s, the majority of campus activity was centered at the "Upper Campus." (Utah State Historical Society)

George H. Brimhall, a Provo native, taught school in Spanish Fork and later became Utah County superintendent of schools before going to BYU in 1904. Brimhall continued Cluff's practice of hiring teachers with college degrees. His administration also expanded campus facilities, including the first buildings on the present site of the school. Under Franklin Harris, who served as school president from 1921 to 1945, BYU increased its number of teachers from fourteen faculty members to 142 (twenty-seven of whom had doctorates) by 1939–40. Harris, who was born in the Utah County community of Benjamin, was the first school president to hold a Ph.D. In 1928, through Harris's efforts, BYU was accredited for the first time by the Association of American Universities. Howard S. McDonald replaced Harris, serving a short term as president from 1945 to 1949. As school enrollment decreased by two-thirds as a result of World War II, the question of whether BYU was a viable institution was raised once more by the trustees. Apparently, the postwar influx of return-

ing service veterans and the perceived need for a place to train church educational personnel soon put this issue to rest, as McDonald argued that the church needed BYU as much as BYU needed the church.

Christen Jensen served as acting university president from 1949 to 1951, at which time Ernest L. Wilkinson was appointed president of BYU. From 1951 until his retirement in 1971, Wilkinson tirelessly worked to increase the number of students, faculty, staff, and buildings on campus. Enrollment, which had slipped below 4,700 students in 1950–51, grew prodigiously—to 25,000 in Wilkinson's last year as president. In addition, the campus expanded rapidly, helped by a multimillion-dollar investment, mostly church funds, that enabled Wilkinson to build a campus boasting almost 350 academic, administrative, residential, and support buildings.

Wilkinson was replaced by Dallin H. Oaks in 1971. Oaks was born in Utah County and played a major role in the transition from Wilkinson's long-term service to a shortened presidency tenure—serving until 1980. Following Oaks's release in 1980, the church board announced the appointment of Jeffrey R. Holland as the new president. He served until 1989. Rex E. Lee replaced Holland in 1989, and he was replaced in 1996 by LDS Presiding Bishop Merrill J. Bateman, a native of Lehi, the first LDS general authority to act as president of BYU in its history.

Presidents Oaks, Holland, Lee, and Bateman oversaw the efforts of BYU to upgrade all aspects of its proffered educational experience, commensurate with the growth and maturation of the student body. When an enrollment ceiling was established by the school's board of trustees, raising admission standards and tightening honor-code compliance were the chief means of restricting enrollment. Additionally, a greater financial burden for raising funds was transferred to BYU itself, and aggressive alumni relations and endowment programs were developed.³⁴ Besides the daytime programs directed at undergraduate and graduate studies, BYU developed a large adult-education program. In August 1995, BYU hosted the seventy-third annual Campus Education Week, with more than 34,000 attendees. "Ed Week" was reportedly the largest, single-event adult-education program in the United States.

The tradition began in 1923 when groups assembled at BYU for "Leadership Week." Held at BYU as a training session for leaders in the LDS church, the first activity attracted more than 3,000 individuals. Because rural life in those days revolved around farm work, Leadership Week was held in January to accommodate as many people as possible. It was held concurrently with the State Beet Growers Convention, the Poultry Producers Convention, the State Horticultural Convention, and the Utah Farm Bureau Convention. In 1950 Leadership Week was changed to June, and in 1973 it was changed to August when BYU switched to the semester system. The name "Leadership Week" was changed to "Education Week" in 1963 to reflect the change in curriculum and patrons. In 1972 the administration of Education Week changed from BYU to the LDS church educational system under the direction of Neal A. Maxwell in an effort to include LDS church scholars other than those employed by BYU. In 1995, more than 3,000 volunteers helped organize and coordinate Education Week activities at BYU.

BYU's impact in Utah County was not limited to the educational opportunities it offered; it also had a great economic impact on the county. In a detailed report released by the university in 1990, for example, BYU spent more than \$108 million during the year for goods and services in Utah, not including contract amounts for building construction, renovations, improvements, and new-construction furnishings. Additionally, BYU's payroll for faculty, staff, administrative personnel, and students was more than \$100 million. According to this study, BYU's full-time personnel spent about \$56 million a year in Utah County for food, housing, transportation, clothing, medical care, personal care, gifts, and other items. BYU's full-time personnel also paid about \$6 million in state income taxes.³⁵ Not only has BYU become the largest employer in Utah County, it also became the largest employer in the state in 1993, with more than 14,000 employees.

The study also estimated that BYU attracted more than a million visitors to its campus annually for major events, including Education Week, commencements, high-school tournaments, Special Olympics, and athletic events. Brigham Young University educates about 9,000 Utah resident students, saving the state educational system more than



Utah Valley State College in Orem in 1996. (Utah Valley State College)

\$50 million in 1990. Also, BYU's comprehensive clinic provided about \$948,000 in services that year to the community in the areas of speech pathology, audiology, nursing, marriage and family counseling, clinical psychology, social work, and school psychology. Other impacts included enhanced property values and increased deposits in local banking institutions, both of which meant greater financial stability in the county.³⁶

In addition to BYU's programs, another institution in the county grew tremendously in the last decades of the twentieth century and played a major role in the expanding educational opportunities in the county—Utah Valley State College (UVSC) in Orem.³⁷ This thriving educational center served a different population than did BYU—a majority of students from UVSC commuted from home in a surrounding town, which kept the money they spent circulating in the area. Only 12 percent of UVSC students were from out of state; Utah County students comprised 61 percent of its enrollment, whereas a

majority of BYU students came from throughout the country and beyond.

UVSC was originally established when the Utah State Legislature passed an appropriation of \$100,000 for the biennium of 1936–38 for vocational education. Many central Utah residents wanted to upgrade their skills to obtain better jobs by enrolling in vocational classes administered by the local school districts. Because the school districts were not able to adequately organize, conduct, coordinate, and supervise adult programs, Hyrum E. Johnson of Provo was appointed supervisor of vocational education for Utah and Heber Valleys in 1938.

In the fall of 1941 the scattered classes throughout the two valleys were moved to a central location in south Provo, and the resulting Fairgrounds Campus was enthusiastically welcomed by students and staff. Provo School District assumed the financial supervision of the new school, and both federal and state monies flowed through the district to the school. Known as the Central Utah Vocational School at the time, most of its operating budget came from the federal government, especially with the advent of World War II.

The birth of the school as a state institution came on 15 March 1945, when Governor Herbert B. Maw signed a bill appropriating \$50,000 to operate the school for the biennium of 1945–47. A second bill adopted in 1947 made the school a permanent state institution. In 1946 Wilson W. Sorensen was appointed director of the school by the Utah State Board for Vocational Education; he remained the chief executive officer until June 1982.

In 1948 a new site between 1200 and 1400 North on 150 East in Provo was obtained. The site was purchased by four school districts (Alpine, Nebo, Provo, and Wasatch) as well as by Provo City and Utah County, with the understanding that if the property was given to the school, the state then would appropriate money for the construction of buildings. The location of the campus was considered ideal because of its accessibility to students from Provo High School, the existing vocational school, and Brigham Young University.

In March 1953 the name of the school was changed to Utah Trade Technical Institute. In March 1967 the name was again changed, this time to Utah Technical College at Provo. In February

1966 the Utah State Board for Vocational Education approved the granting by the school of Associate of Applied Science degrees, and, on 14 July 1967, the state board approved the school offering general-education courses. In August 1971, Associate of Science degrees were approved. Enrollment growth continued until the Provo campus was no longer adequate, and a search for a new site began. Several locations in Provo and Orem were reviewed, and a decision was made to purchase 185 acres in southwest Orem. The business education building, student center, heating plant, and auto trades building were occupied by the 1975–76 school year.

In 1982 Wilson W. Sorensen retired as school president and J. Marvin Higbee was selected by the Utah State Board of Regents as the new president. Following the move to the Orem campus, the college continued to grow, adding a trades building, learning resource center, athletic center, and administration building.

Beginning fall quarter 1985, a four-year bachelor's degree in electronic technology was offered. In 1987 the legislature approved a name change better reflecting the location and mission of the college—Utah Valley Community College. In October 1987 J. Marvin Higbee resigned as president and Lucille T. Stoddard was appointed acting president until a new chief executive officer was selected. Kerry D. Romesburg was appointed to the post on 17 July 1988. In 1993 the name of the college was changed to Utah Valley State College, and UVSC was given provisional accreditation by the Northwest Accrediting Association to offer four-year degree programs. Besides offering educational opportunities, UVSC also affected county residents in a number of ways, including providing economic benefits.

In addition to BYU and UVSC, several other post-high-school educational facilities served the needs of county residents as the century ended. Stevens Henager College, an accredited junior college of business, offered course majors that included legal secretarial, administrative assistant, medical assistant, accounting-business management, personal-computer technician, and secretarial science studies. Approximately 400 students were enrolled at the school in 1994–95. The University of Phoenix, a private, regionally accredited education institution, served working adults. The school offered bachelor's degree programs in business administration, management, busi-

ness—information systems, and nursing. The Utah campus enrolled more than 1,500 students, who usually attended classes one night per week in 1995–96. The American Institute of Medical-Dental Technology was established in 1979 in Provo. The school enrolled about 300 students in various courses, including medical assisting, dental-lab technician, dental assisting, optometric/ophthalmic, and medical-dental. The Provo College, a private post-secondary educational facility, was established in 1984. Approximately 300 students were enrolled in 1995. Course work included graphic design, dental assisting, court reporting, office administration, and medical transcription.

The programs that make Utah County one of the premier educational centers in the state have benefited residents from all walks of life. Nearly 5,000 high school students graduated at the end of the 1994–95 school year, and more than 8,500 students graduated with degrees from BYU and UVSC.

Taxes collected by the various governments, private-school tuition payments, and donations from private individuals and groups help the schools within the county offer a variety of educational, cultural, and sports programs. The continued growth of the area and demands for expanded and new educational facilities will continue to be a source of concern for everyone for the foreseeable future; yet county residents continue to look toward their schools—public and private—as a means to prepare the young people in the region for the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER 15

UTAH COUNTY IN THE FAST LANE, 1980–1998

In the late 1970s the personal computer (PC) revolution began in the United States, initiating what has been called the “information highway.” Utah County became a part of this information revolution—from the standpoint of both users and developers of computer programs, or software. In 1994 Utah County was known as “Software Valley.”¹ The software, programs, routines, and symbolic languages that control the functioning of computer hardware and direct its operation have been produced by both large and small companies in Utah County since the early 1980s. To help make this happen and secure jobs in the industry, local residents were willing to work long hours. The average work week in Utah was forty-eight hours, which was longer than the average work week in Japan.

WordPerfect, an early leader in the word processing field, had its beginnings in Utah County. The company’s founder, Alan Ashton, came to Provo in 1972 to teach and do computer science research at Brigham Young University. He and one of his students, Bruce Bastian, contracted to create a word processing program for Orem City’s computer system. Ashton and Bastian then formed Satellite Software



A Novell computer show in Provo on 21 November 1997. (Glen Ricks, *Daily Herald*)

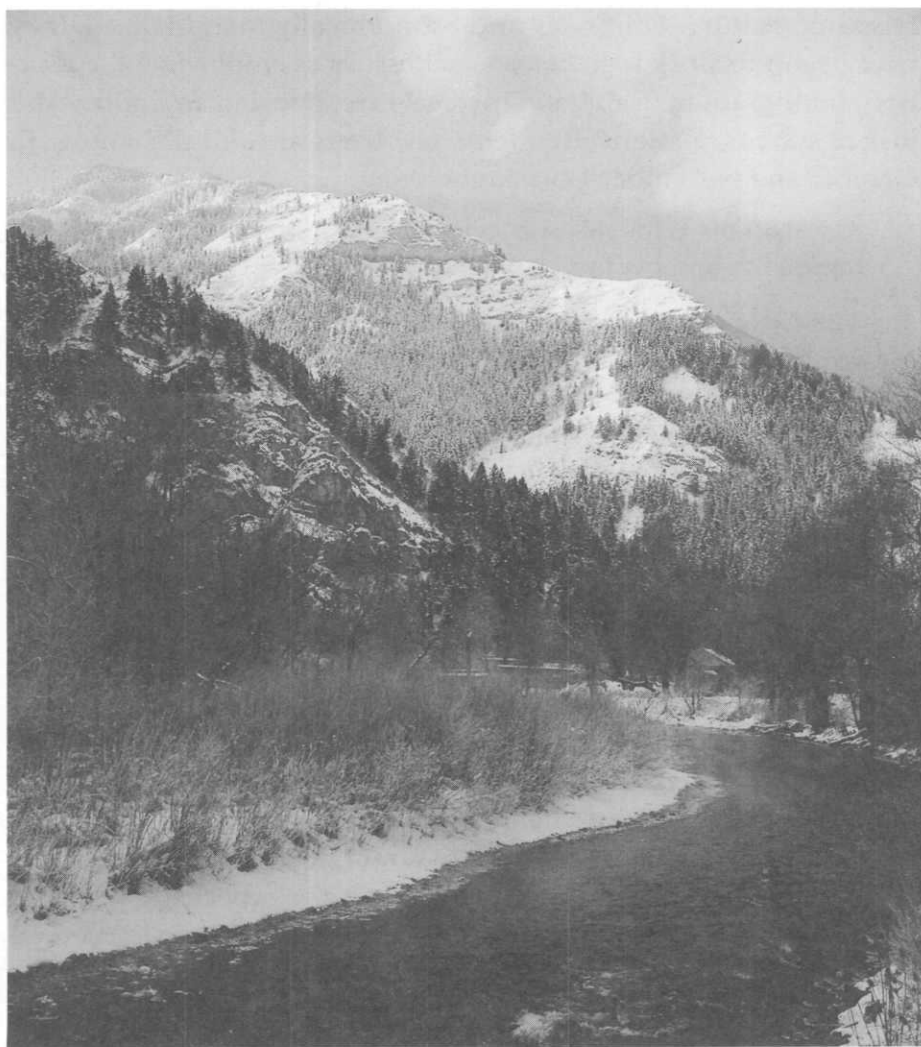
International. Originally developed for minicomputers, their program was quickly adapted to the new IBM personal computer. By 1990 the company commanded 60–65 percent of the national word processing software market. In some European countries, the company maintained as much as a 79 percent market share. Ashton stepped down as CEO and president in December 1993. Another Utah County company, Novell, took control of WordPerfect in July 1994 and made it part of Novell's business application division.

In 1981, four computer science students at BYU (Drew Major, Dale Neibaur, Kyle Powell, and Mark Hurst) had obtained jobs with Novell Data Systems. They created software that would allow Novell Data System's computer to be networked. Before long, Novell demon-

strated its first PC network; and, within a short time, Ray Noorda joined Novell and formed a new company, Novell Inc., to promote the new networking technology. Brigham Young University produced talented graduates, and the quality of life in Utah County kept many of the early computer-related companies in the area in the 1980s and 1990s. A unique synergism developed in Utah Valley, as one successful company attracted or gave birth to others. In the case of Novell, such spinoffs included Folio and Netline. Other firms were attracted to the region in the 1990s. Micron Technology, a Boise, Idaho, firm which produces computer chips, announced a \$1.7 billion new facilities project in Lehi on 13 March 1995.² Local optimism in northern Utah County soon waned, however, as a downturn in the global microchip marketplace led Micron to mothball the partially completed facility about two years later. By December 1998, the company had spent more than \$700 million on the Lehi project and operations there provided jobs for county residents.

In 1994–95, Utah County had its first bitter taste of global market downturns when WordPerfect laid off more than a thousand people, a fifth of its work force. The merger with Novell subsequently added to WordPerfect's woes, and more people were laid off. Seattle's Microsoft recruiters diverted some of the best talent from BYU, undercutting the talent base of many of the computer software companies located in Utah County. In 1995 Microsoft moved into Novell's networking-software lane on the information superhighway and pushed into some of the smaller niche markets that Utah firms had tended to occupy. Novell spent a significant amount of time trying to salvage its stock after it began to decline.³ Novell offered its business-applications division (including WordPerfect and Quattro Pro) for sale in November 1995. Corel, a Canadian corporation, purchased WordPerfect soon thereafter.

The expansion of the computer industry in Utah County concerned some longtime residents, who were worried about maintaining a lifestyle and an environment that were attractive to those who wanted to continue living in the county. Additionally, as new people moved into the county, the problem of accommodation was exacerbated as the small communities throughout the county experienced unprecedented growth—in many cases stretching services beyond



Provo River and Canyon. (John Telford)

their capacity. As in World War II, when Geneva brought new people into the valley, the expansion during the end of the twentieth century also provided challenges to the newcomers as they attempted to fit into the Mormon-dominated society. By 1998, the Hispanic population not only grew in numbers since 1980, but their presence was evident in all aspects of daily life in the county. An increasing number of restaurants offered a hungry county population food from

Hispanic culture. Politically and economically marginalized, they have begun to work together on such issues as employment, education, immigration, health and medical care, housing and policy and justice system relations. Residents saw flyers around the county in October and November 1998 announcing:

“Unidos para mejorar nuestra comunidad!” (Let’s join together to improve our community).

The Governor’s Hispanic Advisory Council and the Consulate of Mexico in conjunction with the Ethnic Minority Interagency Council and the Utah Task Force invited the public to join them and representatives from local governments, schools, employment services, and community agencies to address the concerns and needs of this important and significant group within the borders of Utah County.

Other groups, families and individuals from many lands established homes and businesses in the county. Again one of the most visible signs of their presence was the proliferation of ethnic restaurants; including Italian, Korean, Indian, Southeast Asian, Japanese and Chinese restaurants. These business enterprises are owned and operated by first generation immigrants who retain their language and culinary traditions. And while they have often enjoyed economic successes, they face the same challenges that confront many people who move to a new town, county, state or country.

Representative of these challenges was the experience of Laura Card in 1986. Her family returned to Utah Valley, having left several years before. She noted in her diary: “I should tell about our home and why we are where we are. . . . I never wanted to come back to Orem. Something about Utah Valley suffocates me.” Card admitted that the struggle of obtaining a good job was a distinct disadvantage during the 1970s and early 1980s. Eventually, her husband, Bill, secured a job. Finding a house at this time was not a problem, as the housing market was soft. She noted that the people who owned the house “wanted out of the house badly and since there are about ten other houses on the street for sale, they were willing to lease it to us and if we come up with \$3,000 any time within a year, we can buy the house by taking over payments.” Card noted in her diary how easy it had been for her three youngest children to make friends. She sadly



Winners at the Sundance Film Festival in 1997. (John Schaefer, Sundance Film Festival)

wrote, however, that “Gwen [fifteen years old] is having a little harder time. She was so popular at her other school [in Colorado], she feels quite left out here.” Another child, twelve-year-old Lance had a terrible time, she confided.⁴

Lance Card felt left out, skipped school for a few days, and got into big trouble with his father and the principal. Eventually, two neighbor boys helped him adjust. Things had not changed much from the time Laura Card first moved to Utah from California in the 1960s from California. “I must admit,” she frankly noted, “I also found the people in Orem quite stand-offish when I moved here as a teenager.”⁵

Although some of those moving to the county experienced difficulties integrating into the community, others in the county became worried about keeping a job in the mid-1980s as one of the area’s important employers began to close its doors. Geneva Steel, along with the entire steel industry in the United States, was struggling, and rumors of the company’s demise spread.⁶ The *American Fork Citizen* reported in November 1984: “Geneva headed for fall.”⁷ Residents

already guessed what Warner Woodworth, an associate professor in BYU's Marriott School of Management, reported—that the local and state economies would suffer tremendously if Geneva closed. The news story continued: "The report shows Utah Valley loses \$5.2 million annually for every 100 workers laid off from Geneva. In addition, the state loses nearly \$6.5 million for every 100 workers laid off." The closure of the steel plant, with the loss of the company's workforce of about 2,400 employees, would be major.

Joseph "Joe" Cannon, a native of Utah and graduate of BYU Law School, became interested in Geneva Steel. Having learned from U.S. Steel (USX) executives that Geneva Steel was to close because of declining profits and other problems, Cannon launched a successful campaign to buy out Geneva. The venture was described by some as absolutely insane financially, especially in light of the slump in the entire American steel industry. Cannon was convinced, however, that despite problems at the plant and with the economy Geneva could be profitable again. With the mill under private ownership, he believed it would be free to market its product anywhere in the world. In addition, Cannon believed he could negotiate a new union agreement as well as lower-cost contracts with local suppliers.

Cannon and his brother, Christopher, began to recruit investors, many from the law school at BYU. Cannon acknowledged that Utah Senator Orrin R. Hatch helped significantly, especially when a portion of the financing fell through. Hatch convinced USX chief David Roderick to keep the steel mill open for another month—at a cost, USX claimed, of \$100,000 per day—until Cannon could finish the deal. Cannon was able to secure additional financial backing, and on 31 August 1987, at midnight, Cannon welcomed the first shift of steelworkers back to the mill. The *Wall Street Journal* called Geneva a "miracle mill," stating that Geneva was "the new face of the century-old U.S. Steel industry."⁸ The venture flourished. In November 1990 *Forbes* magazine listed Geneva Steel as 329th in the national list of the magazine's largest 400 private companies in the United States, with revenues at \$521 million. Cannon credited the success of Geneva to the "team"—its more than 2,500 employees.

Operating in the black was not Geneva's only worry. As an environmental lawyer at the EPA, Cannon was well aware of the environ-



Fruit Trees in Blossom in Orem. The increased development of orchard land for housing and business construction has not meant a decrease in over-all fruit production as a result of new technology and techniques by local growers. (John Telford)

mental controversy surrounding the plant. Nearly \$300 million was spent to modernize the plant in an effort to make it more competitive and to reduce the plant's impact on the environment. Still, critics were concerned about the plant's pollution. Cannon contended that "no one could do more than I am doing if they were sitting here—short of shutting the plant down." Cannon attempted to answer a critic:

When we bought this plant, it was with the intention of being a force for good in our community. From the very beginning, we have made direct contributions to the Utah civic and cultural community. Also, just a few months after we opened, we contacted the best people in the business to help us reduce our pollutants. We didn't call industry hacks or people who could come in and give us technical, complicated reasons for why we didn't have to dot this

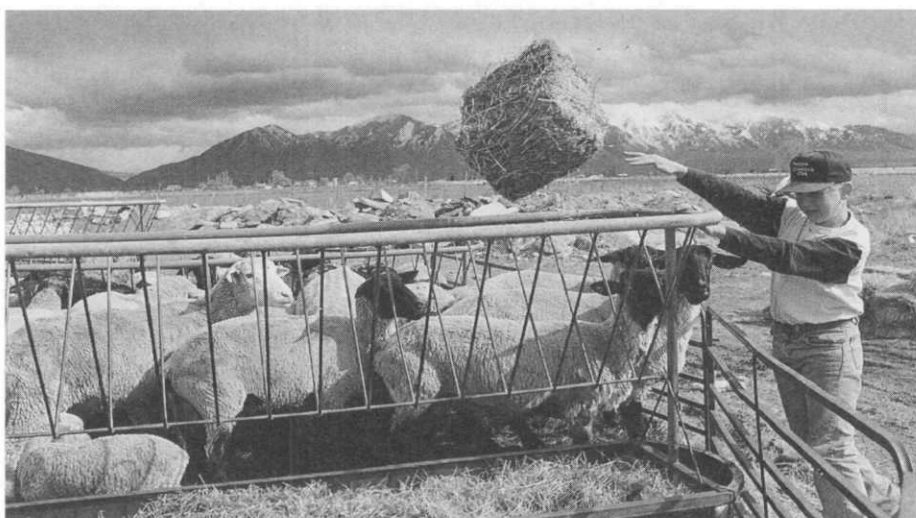
or that. . . . And we did it before there was a big public outcry. . . . Every single decision we have ever made since the day we started thinking about buying this plant, has been on the premise of how we are going to help this plant be here for the long term.⁹

Among the vocal critics of Geneva were students and professors at BYU. Long-time social and cultural critic Hugh Nibley wrote bluntly:

Let me say at the outset that after forty years of breathing the miasmic exhalations of Geneva, I must admit that things are definitely better under Mr. Cannon's supervision than they were in the days of U.S. Steel. We have all heard arguments on both sides in this affair. Recently Mr. Cannon on publicly injected a religious note into the discussion with his declaration that the reborn steel mill is a child of divine intervention, an act of providence. The connection between the sacred and profane is entirely a proper one, and I welcome the excuse for a philosophical discourse. . . . Utah Valley, without the steel mill, offers treasures. . . . This mill is not beautiful and for the most of us has precious little utility. What is it then? It is a good of *third intent*, the one and only thing which is not good of itself and not useful of itself but is prized above all else—it is money. Letters to the editor [of local county newspapers] have been quite frank in telling us to wake up and realize that those dark clouds to the west mean just one thing—money.¹⁰

Most Utah County residents were willing to accept the pollution to gain the economic benefits the steel plant provided.

The balance between economic development and quality of life issues often made headline news in the county. Another long-term business commitment in the county, that of Sundance Group Inc., highlighted another approach. When movie actor Robert Redford purchased the old Timp Haven ski area in 1969 he did not plan to expand the facilities or aggressively promote the ski resort. Sundance, as the resort was renamed, remained a semi-private resort for the first several years—a place where Redford brought many of his friends and where a few locals and out-of-towners and many BYU students came to ski. Walter Sive, general manager of Sundance in 1990, reflected, "It was a laid-back, almost funky little place, but as we've grown and seen a tremendous response to both our commercial and



Jake Jarvis feeds part of his family's flock at their farm in Palmyra on 3 May 1997. While Utah County's landscape is rapidly changing, there are still areas where scenes reminiscent of the 19th-century agrarian lifestyle is found. (Jason M. Olson, *Daily Herald*)

our charitable programs, we've realized that we are in the mainstream, both as a ski area and as a summer resort. And there's no ambivalence about it anymore." Redford, however, was concerned about how Sundance integrated itself into its surroundings. "The love for the land," Sive said, "will always be at the root of Sundance's primary goals."¹¹

As evidence of this commitment, Robert Redford and his family announced early in 1998 a conservation easement for more than 860 acres of critical wildlife habitat, vital watershed, and undisturbed alpine meadows they had purchased from the Chipman family. Redford said, "The decision of our family to protect this particular land came from a simple desire to ensure that it will never be jeopardized by development and thus remain intact forever. We are grateful to Utah Open Lands for assisting us in making this possible."¹²

The expansion of the ski area and surrounding real-estate developments have still brought economic benefits to many in the county. Sundance also has become a retreat for independent filmmakers. The Sundance Institute began in 1981 as a way—and a place—to bring

together some of the best and brightest in the film industry and to provide them a unique opportunity to develop their talents. The Institute's programs—which provide workshops for writers, producers, directors, playwrights, composers of musical scores, and film choreographers—have been held throughout the summer, and the institute sponsors a film festival that is world famous. Although Sundance Institute's initial focus was on American independent filmmakers, the programs have taken on an international flavor, attracting filmmakers from Europe, Japan, Russia, and Latin America.

Another part of Sundance is the Institute for Resource Management, which focuses on national and international environmental concerns. Locally, Redford became interested in the development of U.S. Highway 189 through Provo Canyon. In December 1995, Redford, along with a group of Utah County community leaders, asked the Utah Department of Transportation (UDOT) to halt the second phase of reconstruction through Provo Canyon. The long-term project is intended to widen the canyon highway between Utah Valley and Heber Valley in four phases, and it has drawn strong opposition from environmentalists and other concerned citizens. Orem Mayor Stella Welsh, for example, argued that the \$40 million earmarked for the Upper-Falls-to-Wildwood “tunnels” section of the canyon could be better spent on more pressing needs. “It bothers me that they’re going to tear up that canyon and not fix it for a lot of years,” Welsh commented.¹³

The second phase, the most expensive two-mile stretch of highway in the state, had been postponed for several years after the first phase was completed in 1991. Some people in both Wasatch and Utah counties were critical of Redford's opposition efforts—even voicing their concerns on a national news program, demonstrating again the conflicts within the county as citizens attempted to deal with progress from different perspectives.

On the political front, county residents were part of the explosive national conservative resurgence ignited in 1980 known as the “Reagan Revolution,” named for successful presidential Republican candidate Ronald Reagan. Apparently, the conservative movement that was rejected by American voters in the 1964 general election learned from the mistakes of that campaign and began to build a



Kelly Hunsberger of Timpview's women's soccer team is ready to score a goal on 25 September 1997. Not only has sport competition moved beyond baseball, basketball and football, but participation has significantly increased among women. (Jason M. Olson, *Daily Herald*)

more solid foundation for future participation in the affairs of the nation. Increasingly, Republican candidates, including Richard M. Nixon in 1968, began to include the more conservative platforms of the party, and by 1980 conservative Republicans were prepared to take leadership roles throughout the country at local, regional, and national levels.

The majority of Utah County residents were already conservative Republicans, and they fully participated in the events that changed the political landscape of the county, state, and nation. "Tide of History Sweeps Out Democrats," a local county paper noted in its November 1980 election edition.¹⁴ Nationally, incumbent President Jimmy Carter was rejected, and new president Ronald Reagan's electoral victory was astonishing. In Utah, Reagan won by the largest margin in the nation (74 percent to 21 percent). Powerful Democratic senators in the United States were defeated in the landslide. In Utah, incumbent Jake Garn won with 74 percent of the vote. Six-term incumbent U.S. House member Gunn McKay was rejected

by county and district voters and replaced by Republican Jim Hansen, a conservative. After his defeat, McKay noted: "We get called and we get released. And we accept those with heart-felt gratitude. . . . The people have spoken." McKay attributed his defeat and that of many fellow Democrats to "a wave of frustration."¹⁵ Certainly, the 1980 election linked Utah County with a larger conservative movement.

Republicans continued to dominate in local politics (as in Utah generally). In 1990, however, the Democrats gained control of the Third District Congressional seat, which was created in 1982 and includes Utah County, when incumbent Howard C. Nielson decided not to run again. BYU Law School graduate William H. (Bill) Orton won the Democratic nomination and defeated his Republican opponent in the general election after the Republican party was split by infighting, making him the lone Democrat member of Utah's congressional delegation in Washington and the representative of what had been called the most Republican House district in the nation.

Republican domination in local, state, and national elections has continued in the county. The *American Fork Citizen* reported in November 1992, for example: "Local voters buck national trend, support Bush."¹⁶ However, Democratic Congressman Bill Orton retained his seat, defeating Richard Harrington. Following state trends, county residents voted for Republican Robert Bennett (son of a former Republican senator) for the Senate and Republican Mike Leavitt for governor. County voters also supported Republican Scott M. Burns for attorney general, but he lost in the statewide election.

Republicans won in the area's state legislative and Utah County Commission races. Democrat Bill Clinton, who won the presidential election, was third in votes locally, behind both Republican George Bush and independent candidate Ross Perot. In two Highland districts, Clinton even lost to Populist party candidate Bo Gritz.

The dominance of the Republican party in the county had been a fact for years; but in November 1996 another important office came under the party's control when Chris Cannon (BYU Law School graduate and former partner in Geneva Steel) defeated U.S. Congressman Bill Orton. This made Utah's Washington delegation totally Republican. Another sign of Republican power in the late



The Fourth of July Freedom Festival in Provo concludes with the “Stadium of Fire” at BYU’s Cougar Stadium. (Marc J. Lester, *Daily Herald*)

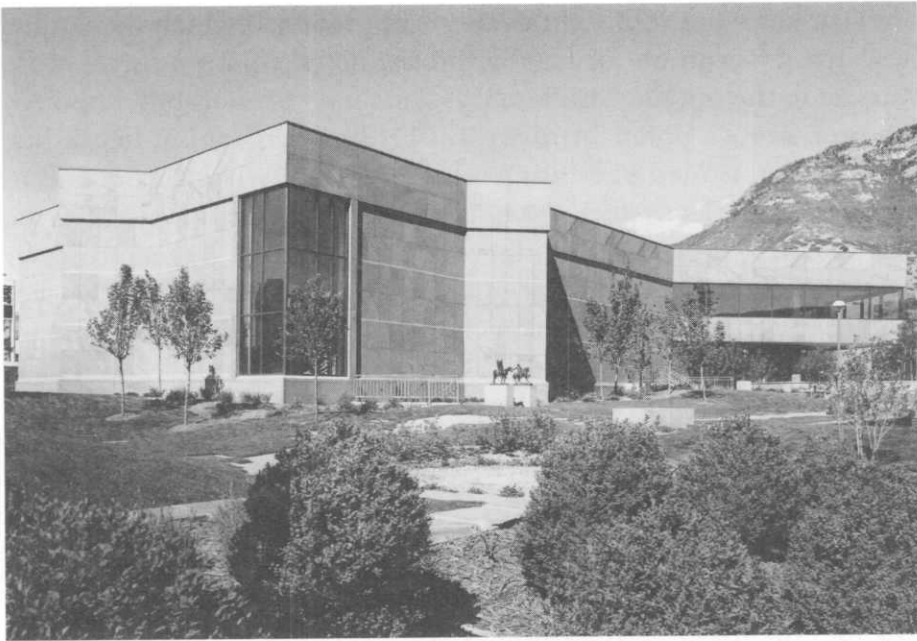
1990s was Cannon's unchallenged bid for a second term in 1998 by the Democratic Party. Cannon did face two third party candidates. However, his support in the county was stronger than in 1996. In 1996 he garnered 59.58 percent of the vote in the county in the general election. In 1998 he had 80.08 percent of the county vote in his victory.

During the last two decades of the twentieth century several attempts have been made to change the boundaries of Utah County. The town of Soldier Summit, just beyond the county boundary in Wasatch County, tried to annex 4,000 acres of Utah County in 1979. Apparently, certain parties hoped to develop a resort there that would become "the Queen of the West."¹⁷ The Utah County Commission felt the move to annex the land was illegal and stopped Soldier Summit's actions in court.

In 1992 another move was made to annex the southern part of the county into Juab County. The *Deseret News* informed its readers on 15 January 1992: "Juab annexation movement snowballs."¹⁸ Residents from the southern Utah County communities of Santaquin, Elberta, Goshen, and Genola "spearheaded an effort to get the three cities and Elberta annexed into Juab County because they think the Utah County Commission does not feel their concerns are important enough to address." Santaquin Mayor D. Lynn Crook said, "It bothers them. They're dissatisfied with county government and the restrictions that are placed on it. They feel like the County Commission stops its concern around Spanish Fork." Among the complaints was a road sign at Payson that called that city the "Gateway to Utah County."¹⁹

The Juab County Commission supported the move, which would have almost doubled that county's population if it was approved. Utah County commissioners were surprised that Juab commissioners had not contacted them before publicly announcing the support for such a move and were also offended that Juab officials would encourage Utah County residents to avoid vehicle emissions testing by registering their vehicles in Juab County, where such testing was not required. The annexation move did not succeed, however.

Within a few months, another resident filed a petition to secede from the county. In May 1992 Shirrel R. Young asked that a portion



Like the Springville Art Museum, the BYU Museum of Art dedicated in 1993, allows county residents and those visiting the region an opportunity to expand their cultural horizons. Designed by James B. Langenheim, the building is considered one of the most aesthetically pleasing and functional buildings of its size in North America. (BYU Museum of Art)

of the county which included Thistle be annexed into adjoining Sanpete County.²⁰ State law requires that a majority of voters in the affected area sign a petition for such a measure to be on the ballot. Because Young was the only one who had voted in the area during the last election, he signed the petition himself, and claimed that he therefore constituted a majority.²¹ Young was a constant critic of county actions, particularly those of the planning commission, zoning administration, and the board of adjustment. The county commission referred the matter to the Utah attorney general for an opinion concerning the legality of the petition. The county commission voted not to accept the petition, based on an opinion from the state's attorney general.

During the first two weeks of January 1991, county residents, like the rest of the nation, prayed for peace and prepared for war in the

Persian Gulf as a midnight deadline approached which demanded that the government of Iraq withdraw its occupation forces from Kuwait in the Middle East. Manila Elementary School student Bough Hunter wrote a poem entitled, "If I Had a Wish," about her father, who was stationed in Saudi Arabia: "I would wish for my dad to come home."²² Her father was not the only county resident preparing for battle—fourteen members of the 120th Quartermaster Detachment of the Utah National Guard were called up for service and were serving in the Persian Gulf when the war began in January 1991.

The day after the air war began, 23 January 1991, more than 700 guardsmen, including men and women from the American Fork and Provo areas, all members of the 1457th Engineer Battalion of the Utah National Guard, were put on alert on for possible call-up to support Operation Desert Storm in the Persian Gulf. Seven days later, the battalion, a combat-construction unit that specialized in building and maintaining roads under combat conditions, was called to service. Members of the battalion loaded on twelve buses to begin a journey that took them to Saudi Arabia. Signs, yellow ribbons, and American flags lined American Fork's Main Street as the buses traveled through town with a police escort. More than a thousand local citizens turned out to send the guard members on their way. Mayor B. Kay Hutchings of American Fork addressed the troops before their departure, and a flag flown over the American Fork City Hall was given to the soldiers to take with them to Saudi Arabia to fly over their battalion.

The war was quickly decided by American air superiority, and troops began to return home to their loved ones. For many county military service personnel, the successful conclusion of the war was a real vindication of the U.S. military. Captain Earl McNeil reflected: "Americans showed a genuine appreciation for us. It made me feel like America finally came to grips with Vietnam. The stigma attached to being a soldier suddenly disappeared. It was a reconciliation with the country."²³

Agriculture in the Late Twentieth Century

Industries like agriculture and mining dominated much of Utah



Muslim students at BYU take time to join in prayer, continuing their religious tradition far away from their homes. In the 1990s, county residents also participated in Islamic activities and practices as the religious landscape of the county continued to change and expand. (Pepper A. Nix)

County's economy from the early pioneer period until World War II, but a decreasing number of residents have been involved in these industries since that time. During the 1980s and 1990s, agriculture continued its decline in the percentage of employment and share of the local economy. By 1995 the county's employment in agriculture, mining, and lumber industries fell to less than 3 percent of the work force, one of the lowest in the state. The state average was only 3.87 percent.²⁴ However, Utah County farmers and orchard owners still found a ready market for their products, as they competed with farmers in Cache, Box Elder, and Sanpete counties for the lead position in crop production.

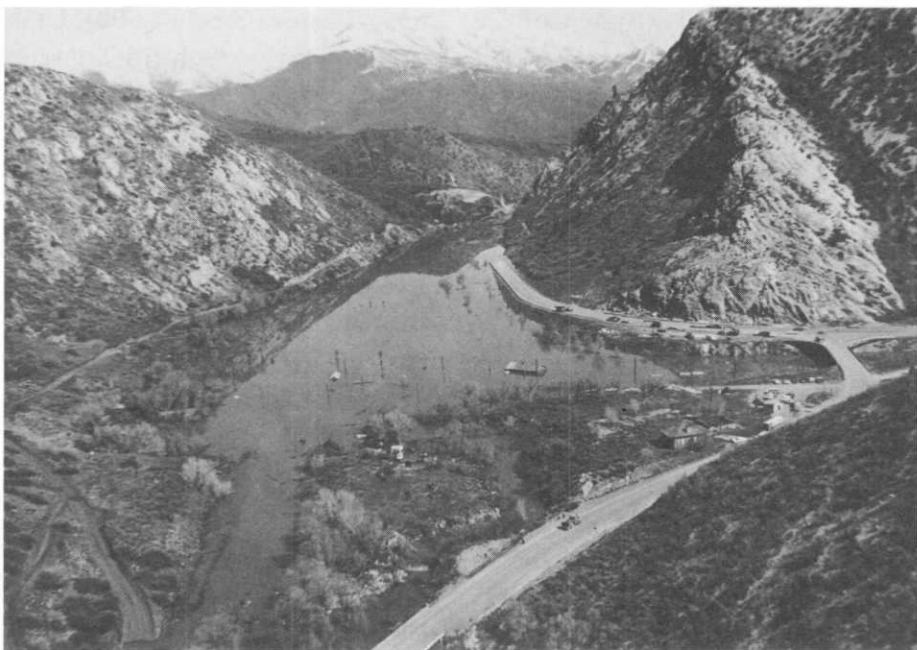
F. Dean Miner, Jr., Utah County director of the Utah State University extension program, reported that the county lost somewhere between 10–15 percent of its agricultural land during the period from 1993 through 1998. He observed: "Few move their operations, most simply leave production." The decrease in agricultural land has not necessarily meant a decrease in over-all production, however, Miner noted: "Production, except field crops, has remained the same because technology and new technics allow people to

increase their production without increasing acreage.”²⁵ Utah County still had more than 15,000 acres in wheat, 12,000 acres in corn, and 11,500 in barley, 2,700 in oats, and 41,000 in alfalfa and hay in 1997.²⁶ Miner, however, argues that these numbers will start to decrease by the year 2000.

It is not only crops that play a role in this segment of the economy. Utah County leads the state in mink pelt production, with 254,000 produced in 1996.²⁷ Mink and beef cattle did show a decrease during the same period, however; only milk cows increased—from 7,500 to 8,000. Nevertheless, cash receipts increased from \$62.9 million in 1995 to \$70.2 million in 1996. Cash receipts for crops increased from \$26.1 million to \$30.8 million during the same period, resulting in a total increase from \$89 million to \$101 million for both aspects of the agricultural segment of the county economy.²⁸

The best example of increased production utilizing the same acreage is provided by the county's fruit growers, who compete more and more in the national market and as of 1997 produced 80 percent of the fruit grown in the state. After several decades in the fruit-growing business, however, veteran horticulturist Howard Riley of Payson noted in a 1993 interview that fruit growing in Utah County was “still a crap shoot.” He saw “the time when we’ll run out of places to have trees, say in another 40 years. I don’t look to see too many orchards in the future. They make good residential sites because they provide clean air, good soil and a view.” Riley has witnessed a revolution in the fruit business. In the early 1990s, horticulturists planted between 700 and 1,000 fruit trees per acre. He reflected: “We used to plant 30, 45 or 50 trees per acre. With those trees we could get 20 boxes per tree, but the trees had to be 10 to 15 years old. Now we can plant 600 or 700 trees and pick 2 boxes per tree and get that kind of production in 4 or 5 years.”²⁹

The new methods did have drawbacks. Riley pointed out that the trees cost more because they are already branched when they are purchased and because they must have a support system—stakes or poles. Lodge poles cost two dollars per stake, trimmed and treated, not counting the time and labor to install them. “If you make a mistake, you make 700 mistakes,” he noted. “If you could get 1,000 boxes per acre and sell them for \$33 per box, that’s \$33,000. But that could



Thistle, Utah on 17 April 1983. (Utah State Historical Society)

be short-lived because people overdo it and the price drops. . . . Then, there's the danger of frost and hail, or the fact that some varieties lose their popularity." He pointed out that no one knows what will be the most popular fruit variety in the future. "It's a gamble, but it's fun," Riley said. "It's been good for the economy of Utah. It provides a living for families and employment for a lot of people. We haven't got rich, but we've been able to make a living."³⁰ Riley grew peaches, cherries, and apples; then, to diversify his operation, he started growing Christmas trees about twenty years ago. At the peak of the cherry season in 1995, he employed between eighty and a hundred pickers, depending on the crop. Most of his labor force came from Mexico; some are in the U.S. permanently, while others have visas. Riley's practices are representative of those of many other farmers and orchard owners in Utah County.

As the economic picture changed during the 1980s and 1990s, BYU remained the largest employer in the county, with 12,302 employees; it was followed by Novell (4,584), Alpine School District

(4,053), Utah Valley State College (2,655), Geneva Steel (2,600), Utah Valley Regional Medical Center (2,386), Provo School District (1,850), Nebo School District (1,800), Sears Teleservice (1,200), Nu Skin (1,100), R.R. Donnelly and Sons (996), Stouffer's (800), Utah State Developmental Center (783), Ameritech Library Services, (720), Utah State Hospital (712), Utah County government (634), Covey Leadership Center (601), Smith's (595), Provo City (534), Utah State Office Building (470), Valtek (450), Mountain View Hospital (450), Macey's (433), K-Mart (433), Albertson's (432), Sundance Enterprises (380); ZCMI (368); Shopko (363); American Fork Hospital (360), Wal-Mart (348), Orem City (337), Nature's Sunshine Products (300), United States Post Office (300), Provo Craft Warehouse (300), and First Security Bank (288).³¹

One of the largest areas of growth in Utah County during the 1980s and 1990s was in the travel and tourism sector. Throughout the state of Utah, tourism in 1994 was a \$3.35 billion business, outstripping agriculture and mining combined.³² An additional economic factor related to this business is about \$250 million in tax revenues, some \$62 million of which directly benefits local communities. Local governments also generated tourism tax revenues from an optional sales tax on restaurant meals. In 1990 Utah County generated an estimated \$213 million from tourism. In 1994 the amount rose more than 7 percent, to an estimated \$281 million.

Utah County also participated in the preparations for the forthcoming 2002 Winter Olympic Games. In January 1996, Provo City and Utah County officials announced their continued support for a local \$7 million ice sheet—a 20,000-square-foot facility accommodating 800 fixed seats and an additional 1,200 temporary seats. Utah County Commissioner Gary R. Herbert noted that the county would use some restaurant tax monies and a transient room tax to fund the facility.³³ The Peaks Ice Arena opened to the public on 1 December 1998. With two Olympic size ice sheets the facility will provide years of recreational opportunities for county residents.

Utah County is a destination for people from all over the world, former BYU President Dallin Oaks noted in 1994. Just as growth and international contacts at BYU were "inevitable, on the balance it was good for everyone; it could not be avoided," Oaks maintained.³⁴ So,



The Pereza family, migrant workers in the county in 1997, struggles to find affordable housing in American Fork which is shared with six other individuals. (Jason M. Olson, *Daily Herald*)

too, change in Utah County has been unavoidable. Sports, particularly at BYU, continued to draw attention to the county. Earlier in its history, the university had lost sporting events so consistently that no one could have imagined the national recognition the school would get in the last decades of the twentieth century. Under the direction of Coach Lavell Edwards, the BYU football program became a national power, including winning the national title in 1984. Other BYU sports for both men and women, including basketball, baseball, volleyball, and track and field, kept fans in the county interested and supportive.

In addition to college athletics, local high school teams continued to find great support from residents. Schools in the county not only won state championships during this period but also produced talented individuals recruited locally and out of the state. This growth in athletics not only garnered recognition for the county but also provided additional revenue. Besides the traditional sports of football, basketball, and baseball, young people began participating more widely in soccer, which saw a tremendous increase in local interest.

Several other factors have drawn visitors to Utah County, includ-

ing a number of community-sponsored activities. Many towns and cities in the county have promoted activities, including Alpine Days; American Fork's Steel Days; Elk Ridge's 4th of July celebration; Highland's Fling; Lehi's Roundup; Lindon's Fair; Lake Shore's Homecoming; Mapleton's 24th of July celebration; Orem's Miss Utah Pageant, Family City USA, and Utah State Olympics; Payson's Golden Onion Days and Homecoming, Scottish Festival, and Annual Salmon Bake; Pleasant Grove's Strawberry Days; Provo's Sundance Summer Theatre and 4th of July Freedom Festival; Salem's August celebration; Santaquin's City celebration, Spanish Fork's Utah State Junior Livestock Show and Competition and Fiesta Days; and Springville's Art City Days, April Salon, and International Folkfest. All of these activities rely heavily upon committed volunteers, of which Utah County can boast. Also, the inestimable time donated to religious organizations in Utah County is probably unparalleled. Schools, government, scouts, civic clubs, and other organizations garner another large number of volunteers.

One of the most active groups depending on volunteers for both their time and money is the United Way of Utah County. In 1995–96 that organization participated in a number of countywide activities that benefited local residents, including the Alpine House, the American Diabetes Association, the American Red Cross, the Center for Women and Children in Crisis, Community Action, the Community Nursing Service, and others. In addition, partnership agencies of the United Way included the American Cancer Society and the Utah Heart Association.

More charitable contributions were made to the community through United Way of Utah County in 1994–95 than ever before; contributions increased 19.5 percent—\$235,720 over those of the previous year. With combined gifts from employee payroll deductions, individual donations, foundation grants, gifts in kind, and corporate gifts, a total of more than \$1.4 million was raised. During the previous year, United Way of Utah County had the second-highest percentage increase in contributions of all United Way agencies in the nation. Larry Ellertson, volunteer campaign chair noted, "It is wonderful to know the community cares for its future and for individuals and families who are in less-fortunate circumstances."³⁵



David and JoAnn Seely Family, ca. 1996. David Seely, raised in Ogden, came to Provo as a freshman to attend BYU in 1972. JoAnn Horton, who grew up in California, also came to BYU to begin her university education about the same time. While pursuing their studies, they dated, and married. Following graduate studies at the University of Michigan, the Seelys returned to Utah County to live and work. Their four children are being raised in the county just as some of their progenitors were more than a hundred years earlier. JoAnn Seely's family (Daniel and Eleanor Sumsion) settled in Springville in the fall of 1852. David Seely's family (German and Rachel Ellsworth) settled in Payson in 1858. (David and JoAnn Seely Family, Provo, Utah)

The Boy Scouts of America also remained an important service and training organization in the county, due in part to its favor with LDS church authorities. At the close of 1995, more than 565 local scout troops were organized. Girl Scouts continued to play a role in the training of young people, having been in the county since 1928. At the beginning of 1996, 1,200 girl scouts and leaders participated in the program in Utah County. The Trefoil Girl Scout Camp celebrated its fifth anniversary that year.³⁶

Numerous historical, scientific, cultural, and art museums also benefited from county volunteers. Beginning in 1993, county residents had the opportunity to see treasures that for years had been in

storage. Nearly 600 volunteers helped with such well-received special exhibits at the BYU museum of art as "The Etruscans: Legacy of a Lost Civilization," "The Imperial Tombs of China," and "Masada and the New Testament." For example, volunteers helped six days a week during the running of the China exhibit, which had nearly half a million museum visitors. Additionally, eighty specially trained "museum teachers" committed two years of service to help with the large number of schoolchildren who came each weekday to visit the museum. Another twenty volunteers assisted general patrons of the museum between the periods of the special exhibits.

Other museums in the county also benefited from local volunteer support, including the Earth Science Museum (BYU), Monte L. Bean Life Science Museum (BYU), Museum of Peoples and Culture (BYU), McCurdy Historical Doll Museum (Provo), John Hutchings Museum of Natural History (Lehi), Daughters of Utah Pioneers (Provo, Spanish Fork, and Springville), John Rowe Moyle Park Museum (Alpine), Santaquin Chieftain Museum (Santaquin), and Springville Museum of Art (Springville).

Volunteerism played a role in the religious landscape in the county during this period, as more and more people from different religious groups participated in public activities. One aspect of the increased religious diversity is the local growth of the number of devotees of Krishna.³⁷ Krishna Consciousness, a religion based upon the ideas of transmigration of souls, yoga, strict moral living, and a vegetarian diet, is a way of life in which devotees strive to become completely free of material desires. The establishment of a Krishna temple in Spanish Fork in 1987 was preceded by the purchase of KHQN radio station in 1982 by Caru Das, a Krishna devotee. The station began its full-time programming in 1984 and promulgated the philosophy of Krishna Consciousness. Each Sunday evening, members of the community—including followers from Salt Lake County—gather together to chant, sing, read scripture, and eat a meal. In addition to weekly Sunday services at the temple, the group has sponsored two festivals. The first, a religious festival, is held on the first Saturday after Labor Day in September. As many as 6,000 people have attended. Another activity, the Llama Festival, is held in



Dramatic expansion of population numbers in Utah County during the last decades of the century caused county officers to expand services and increase the number of county employees. Susan Preator, the county personnel director in 1998, stands in front of the Utah County Administration Building completed in 1988. (Marc J. Lester, *Daily Herald*)

conjunction with Spanish Fork's annual Fiesta Days celebration in August.

A small Muslim community comprised primarily of Muslim students attending BYU is also active in the county. Organized as an official club on campus, the Muslim Student Association offers a social and religious haven for Islamic students. The club sponsors presentations on Islam for the student body and gathers weekly for prayer meetings in the Wilkinson Center on the BYU campus. The Muslim students came to BYU from places like Pakistan and Yemen for an education and because BYU's honor code parallels Islamic standards. Groups associated with the Greek Orthodox Church, the Buddhist religion, and the Jewish faith also are active in the county.

In addition to these religions, as of January 1996 several Christian denominations were present in Utah County, including Assembly of God (two congregations), Baptist (five congregations), Bible Church (three congregations), Calvary Chapel (one congrega-

tion), Catholic (three congregations), Christian Science (one congregation), Church of Christ (one congregation), Community Congregational (two congregations), Presbyterian (two congregations), Episcopal (two congregations), Evangelical (two congregations), Foursquare Gospel (one congregation), Independent Bible (one congregation), Jehovah's Witnesses (three congregations), Lutheran (two congregations), Nazarene (one congregation), Pentecostal (one congregation), Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (one congregation), and Seventh-Day Adventist (one congregation). Although the number of members is not known, the variety of churches throughout the county reveals some of the underlying diversity that existed by 1996, although Utah County remains a strong center of the LDS church.

Mormonism, its institutions (BYU, temples, the missionary training center, seminaries, institutes, ward meetinghouses, Deseret Industries, church social services, and business interests), and its members have had a marked effect upon the social, economic, political, educational, and cultural aspects of the county. By 1990 Utah County had become one of the most important centers of the Mormon church in the world.³⁸

Utah County's LDS population was estimated at more than 90 percent of the county's population at the beginning of 1996. It includes more than eighty-five stakes and 800 wards and branches—representing a total of more than 275,000 members in the county.³⁹ Important to LDS church members in the county was President Gordon B. Hinckley's announcement in October 1992 that a second temple would be built in Utah County. Located in American Fork, the Mt. Timpanogos LDS Temple sits on nearly seventeen acres, part of which was once a church welfare farm.

During the last quarter of this century, county voters have demonstrated a willingness to accept social, political, and economic differences of new residents to the county. Jim Ferguson, a member of the Disciples of Christ Church and parishioner of the Rock Canyon Assembly of God Church in Provo, was elected mayor of Provo from 1978 to 1986 by a large majority of Provo voters. In discussing the role of religion in local politics, Ferguson has said, "Utah has a history of non-Mormon office holders; and the important thing

to local voters is not whether a candidate is Mormon or non-Mormon but whether the candidate is anti-Mormon. In a community where most of the people are active or nominally active Latter-day Saints, non-Mormons must respect and respond appropriately to them, just as LDS members need to do.”⁴⁰

Because many of Ferguson’s values are similar to those of the larger majority in the community, he has had political success. He encountered some hurdles, however. “After I became mayor I attended a meeting with LDS Stake Presidents in Provo,” he reported. Apparently it had been a tradition for the city mayor to meet with the religious leaders on a regular basis to coordinate activities and discuss common concerns. Ferguson added: “I was happy to attend, and informed the gentlemen that I appreciated the opportunity to meet with them, but that I would not give them anymore of a hearing than any other concerned citizen group.” Although cordial, that meeting was the last of its kind. Ferguson was thoughtful as he recalled the situation: “The monthly meeting had served a useful purpose in the past. It was now time to move on and it was time for the mayor’s office to act on its own.”⁴¹

When pressed on the difficulty of a non-Mormon raising a family in a predominantly Mormon area, Ferguson emphatically stated: “I don’t care if you are here or in Boston—people become defensive when they represent a minority in any community. The real challenge is to move beyond misunderstanding.” He added: “Today, America faces the challenge of an increasingly larger non-Christian population. Christmas, Easter and other common aspects of our Christian culture are foreign to them. We need to be sensitive, but we need to retain our traditions in appropriate ways despite the increasing diversity.”⁴²

The St. Francis of Assisi Parish, numbering more than 800 families, continues to play a significant role in Utah County. San Andres Parish in Payson and San Ysidro Parish in Elberta serve an increasing number of ethnic groups that share the Spanish language. One of the greatest assets of the Catholic community in Utah County is its ethnic and cultural diversity. In 1992 the Catholic parish in Provo celebrated its centennial. Special events included a dance held at the Catholic school, the entrance of a float in the Fourth of July parade in

Provo, the Fiorretti five-kilometer run in September, and a special outdoor mass on the grounds of the school with Roman Catholic Bishop William Weigand presiding.⁴³

Jehovah's Witnesses also have been active locally. In Salem, nearly 500 volunteers arrived in September 1989 for a weekend of activity. As they gathered in their campers, trailers, and motor homes, they looked forward to building a place of meeting for local Jehovah's Witnesses in only four days. The congregants from New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Arizona began Thursday; by Sunday the 3,700-square-foot brick structure was ready.

Special services are conducted by numerous denominations. For example, the Faith Independent Baptist Church of American Fork held a special Easter sunrise service in April 1992 at a picnic area in American Fork Canyon near the Timpanogos Cave Visitor Center. In Payson, the nondenominational Payson Bible Church celebrated its twentieth anniversary with special services in September 1990. It began holding regular services in September 1970 after acquiring a building from the Payson Presbyterian Church. The Payson Bible Church represents an increasingly important segment of the Christian community in the county—Christian fundamentalism. The Payson church is one of three fundamentalist groups in the county (the others being in Provo and Pleasant Grove). Congregation members, like those in other churches, provide valuable service to the community. In a bimonthly program, members of the church visit convalescent homes. "We usually have singing, music, and messages for the people in those homes. It's something we do to give something to those in the community," Pastor Ira Ransom noted.⁴⁴

Another significant aspect of growth in the county was the medical care offered to county residents. Hospital care and doctor services have changed rapidly in recent years. W. Bart Christenson, an emergency-room physician at Orem Community Hospital, reflected on the changes: "The longstanding and effective 'doctor-patient' relationship was not only intact in 1969 when I began my practice, but was considered even 'sacred.'" Things changed in the 1970s and early 1980s, however, as "third-party" governmental and insurance company representatives began to come between physician and patient. "The gap," Christenson noted, "has widened ever since."⁴⁵

As a result of improved health care and demand for services by patients, costs in the industry rose tremendously during this period. Low cost, convenience, and ease of health-care delivery began to drive the market. The revolution in the health-care industry has taken place in government-sponsored medical entitlement programs, low-cost health providers, one-day surgery centers, and other instant-care units and easy-access emergency rooms. An examination of the countywide 1995–96 telephone directory revealed a wide variety of local health facilities: Intermountain Health Care facilities (American Fork Hospital, Orem Community Hospital, and Utah Valley Regional Medical Center at Provo) [Columbia], Mountain View Hospital (Payson), FHP (Orem), First Medical (Provo), Provo Surgical Center (Provo), and Utah State Hospital (Provo). By 1998, other facilities were operating within the county increasing access to health services, including Columbia Timpanogos Regional Hospital in Orem.

County residents also have been concerned about the natural environment. Industry continued to raise the environmental concerns of many local citizens. Micron presented new environmental problems. The making of computer chips requires hazardous chemicals and great water resources. Officials did not anticipate disposal problems, however. Driving to and from work by employees presented as much or more of a challenge to maintaining local environmental quality as did the plant's projected operation. Despite the mothballing of Micron's facility at present, increasing transportation pollution as well as Geneva and other industries continued to concern many.

Progress on some levels was made. A November 1995 newspaper report indicated that Provo had made progress with air pollution caused by a combination of gasoline-powered automobiles and commercial manufacturing facilities in the region. Mark Komp, an environmental scientist with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's regional office in Denver, reported that "Provo fell from second to sixth place in the current National Air Quality and Emissions Trend Report's listing of carbon monoxide readings."⁴⁶ This represented the first time that Provo had not been in violation of federal standards in a long time.

Other situations, not manmade, also attracted the attention of

residents. Many county people have reflected on the Wasatch Fault. Experts have been telling Wasatch Front residents they can expect a large earthquake in the near future. Although people in Utah County do not have to worry about tornados, hurricanes, or humidity, they do have to think about earthquakes.

Additionally, overgrazing, oversaturation of the earth, rapid snow melt, overflowing creeks and rivers, and ruptured dams have caused flooding and mud slides in Utah County since white occupation of the land began. For example, the spring of 1983 brought extensive flooding to Utah (twenty-two of the state's twenty-nine counties experienced major flooding), and many homes and businesses along the region's rivers and lakes were threatened. Provo's mayor, Jim Ferguson, had been watching reports that indicated a severe flood was going to happen. "I worked hard to convince people that it was going to happen," he reported. Some listened, but many others did not. "In fact," he recalled, "there was a political cartoon published in a local paper showing me standing next to an ark." When flooding finally happened, however, citizens throughout the county demonstrated incredible community spirit. Ferguson noted: "I expected a community effort and community cooperation during this crisis, but not at the level we got. People on the east side of Provo and those on the west side joined together. Neighborhoods and church groups banded to help others out. It was remarkable to watch people just showing up to volunteer."⁴⁷

In Utah County, the most severe flood damage was at Thistle.⁴⁸ The fifty residents of the tiny crossroads community permanently lost their homes, and rail and highway traffic to eastern and southern parts of Utah was disrupted for months. The disaster was caused when a gigantic earthslide created a natural dam in April. Soldier Creek, from the east, and Thistle Creek, from the south, meet near the town of Thistle to form the Spanish Fork River, which then flows into Utah Lake. The two streams, converging behind the new natural dam, formed a lake several hundred feet deep and several miles long that submerged the entire community of Thistle.

Although the state had disaster funds set aside, they came nowhere near covering the costs incurred in the flooding that year. President Ronald Reagan declared parts of the state disaster areas.⁴⁹

Federal, state, and county aid poured into the area to assist those hurt by the natural disaster, one good aspect of which was the community spirit shown of people helping people.

Most of those who have rendered service to their neighbors, communities, and county residents never made “headline news.” County resident Dale Despain may have summed it up best when he reflected: “I know that I will not be remembered, except by my family; very few people are. . . . I was [a member of the Utah County Planning Association] since 1945 until I retired in 1978. Utah County and municipalities may not be any better for my being a planner but it is different than it would have been.”⁵⁰ The same is true for most of the people who have lived or will yet live within the boundaries of Utah County. Hopefully, things are better as a result of their being in the county. Certainly, however, things are different.

The 1980s and 1990s brought about many changes in the county. Residents witnessed advances in medicine, education, communication, and travel, along with growing pains and domestic and public troubles. There was also the “Age of Computers,” a revolution that changed people’s lives. Like other periods of change in the county, migration to the valley strained the resources of the communities as people and institutions adjusted to the unprecedented growth—growth that seems likely to continue in the foreseeable future.

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CHAPTER 16

AT CENTURY'S END: A LOOK TO THE FUTURE AND TO THE PAST

By the mid-1990s, it became apparent that all of the previous growth estimates for Utah County were incredibly low. Due to the increasing in-migration and the high birthrate (among the top in the nation), the county's population increased rapidly—moving from 137,777 in 1970 to 218,106 in 1980. By 1990, it stood at 263,590, and within four years it had increased to more than 300,000. According to projections in 1989, the population was not going to reach 280,000 until the year 2000.¹ By 1997, however, the estimated population in each incorporated community showed continued growth since 1990: Provo, to 100,016 people (10 percent rate of growth); Orem, 80,111 (18 percent); American Fork, 20,094 (28 percent); Pleasant Grove, 19,466 (44 percent); Springville, 16,009 (14 percent); Spanish Fork, 15,444 (37 percent); Lehi, 14,309 (68 percent); Payson, 11,442 (20 percent); Highland, 6,654 (33 percent); Lindon, 6,224 (63 percent); Alpine, 5,309 (52 percent); Mapleton, 4,801 (34 percent); Salem, 3,301 (44 percent); Santaquin, 2,776 (16 percent); Elk Ridge, 1,581 (105 percent); Cedar Hills, 1,340 (74 percent); Woodland Hills, 975 (223 percent); Genola, 877 (9 percent); Goshen, 581 (0.5 percent);



Brigham Young Academy on 5 February 1997. A sign displayed on the fence thanking the community following a yes vote on the 1997 Library Bond Election. (Brian W. Winter, *Daily Herald*)

Cedar Fort, 288 (1.4 percent); Saratoga Springs, 175 (—); Vineyard, 154 (1.9 percent); Eagle Mountain, 148 (—), unincorporated area, 12,243 (10.4 percent). This brings the total estimated population in the county in 1997 to 324,322—nearly a 22 percent increase since 1990.²

The county ranked sixteenth among the twenty-nine counties of Utah in area (2,143 square miles), representing 2.45 percent of the total area of the state of Utah. The estimated 1997 population made the county the second most populous in the state, behind Salt Lake County. This yields a density of about 151 persons per square mile, which ranks the county fourth most densely populated in the state.

Tremendous growth was not a county dilemma alone, most of the state faced similar problems associated with growth during the 1990s. Utah County residents joined other Utahns on 6 December 1995 to watch Utah's "Growth Summit," a gathering of people from diverse backgrounds to discuss the problems and provide possible solutions to the problems facing the state.³ Most television stations, including the county's KBYU, and several radio stations carried the one-hour event live. Three issues—transportation, water, and open

space—took center stage as the people of Utah grappled with the future in this discussion led by Governor Mike Leavitt.

While it seemed to some that the state might take the lead in helping counties and local governments deal with the looming issue, within two years the governor “renounced a strong state role in growth management, maintaining it is a local concern.”⁴ So, at least for the present, the growth issue will remain a local one for individual counties and communities to deal with.

The growth issue in Utah County was one of the major news stories during the 1990s and increasingly grabbed the attention of news writers in local and statewide publications. In January 1997, for example, the *Deseret News* reported: “Provo, Orem Expect Year of Big Growth.” Staff writer Genelle Pugmire noted, “Provo Mayor George Stewart and Orem Mayor Stella Welsh expect 1997 to be a year full of construction, mall expansions, clean-air attainment and growth of the city.” Welsh reported on Orem City’s efforts to acquire new parks in the canyon and around the city. “We don’t have a lot of space left, and we will guard open space jealously,” she told members of the Provo/Orem Chamber of Commerce during the annual State of the Cities address by area mayors.⁵

By 2 February 1997 the state’s population was more than 2 million, making Utah the third-fastest-growing state in the nation. Utah County’s growth accounted for 20 percent of the increase. Of this growth, 2,591 were from net in-migration, the second-largest figure in the state.⁶

In June 1997, Spanish Fork officials were reporting significant increase in revenues, and officials projected, “City government here will collect \$100,000 more in sales tax revenues during fiscal year 1998. The city will also gather \$35,000 more in property taxes and \$20,000 more in motor vehicle property taxes.” According to city manager David Oyler: “Those are all signs of growth.”⁷

Later in the year, *Deseret News* staff writer Sharon M. Haddock reported on Pleasant Grove’s efforts to deal with increased demands upon city services resulting from growth. She wrote: “Once a sleepy bedroom community with fewer than 10,000 residents, Pleasant Grove has awakened to find itself booming with growth and struggling to accommodate double the population.”⁸ Part of the struggle



The pioneer home of George Patten at the turn of the century in Payson.
(Gloria Barnett)

was to find a strong commercial tax base to support the expansion of city services. Possible projects to help the city included obtaining a freeway off-ramp into the city to create opportunities on the west end of town for commercial enterprise and three redevelopment proposals in which the city can receive federal money to help rejuvenate blighted areas. All of these efforts are controversial, and public officials and private citizens struggle to balance development needs with quality-of-life issues.

The growth issue became a major political battlefield for political candidates in the fall of 1997. In Mapleton, the Citizen's party and the Progressive party both issued statements regarding the challenges facing the city. City council candidate Lyle L. Wasden opined: "Almost all issues facing Mapleton are a direct result of continual population growth and the land development associated with that growth."⁹ All other candidates agreed; the differences between them were about how to manage the growth.

In Orem, candidates for mayor and city council seats in 1997 also addressed local and regional issues. Growth and zoning issues were major issues of the campaigns, and various opinions were voiced, representing a variety of economic and political viewpoints. Among

the contestants, Joseph C. Anderson blamed city officials for the problems associated with growth in the city, claiming that city officials “see big dollar signs thinking this is a benefit to the city. The problem is they are ignoring the citizens.”¹⁰ Incumbent Stephen E. Sandstrom indicated that he believed the city could not stop growth because that would hinder people’s property rights; but, he added that the city could manage growth through zoning.

In August 1998 a *Deseret News* article suggested that the state was on the “brink of a major takeover,” or demographic change. Leo Estrada, demographer and associate professor at UCLA’s School of Public Policy, argued: “It’s pretty clear that Utah is in the first stages of pretty dramatic change in population growth. . . . The population of Asians, African Americans and American Indians will all double in thirty years. Latinos will triple in numbers. These are the stark realities we are dealing with.” Estrada was concerned that Utahns are starting down the road of what he called “demographic denial.” He continued: “If people in Utah continue this path, it will lead first to demographic denial, where they deny change is even happening. Then comes demographic devaluing, where they dismiss and devalue the diversity around them. Then demographic distancing, where things and people just do not apply to you. Finally, demographic defensiveness, where responses are that of confrontation, where tensions are exacerbated.”¹¹ Estrada did hold out hope, however, suggesting that much of the population of Utah has had unusual experiences outside the state through educational and religious opportunities, gaining valuable exposure to different cultures and people in the process. He argued that the people need to take advantage of that experience to make a difference in avoiding future confrontational problems.

Another call to action, this one from the Utah Quality Growth Partnership, stated: “Imagine three times the people and four times the traffic in Utah County and the rest of the state. That could be what the 21st century holds if certain trends don’t change.” The group called for immediate efforts to “control that growth, to preserve open spaces and agricultural property.”¹²

The population explosion in Utah County requires some development, but many residents understandably are concerned about the



The Baugh family during a visit to Pleasant Grove's Pioneer Park. Like many county residents, the Baughs are interested in the county's past while concerned about the present and future. (Alex Baugh)

impact and direction of expansion within the county. The *Deseret News* published the findings of a 1997 survey conducted by Dan Jones & Associates indicating that 43 percent of the valley's population feel the population "boom has deteriorated Utah County's quality of life."¹³ A year later, another poll indicated that that number had risen more than 10 percent, making some 54 percent of the county's population concerned that growth has either greatly or somewhat deteriorated the quality of life. Comparisons between Provo and Las Vegas were being made by the U.S. Department of Commerce. County residents "fear the sudden maturation of Utah Valley will cause social battles Las Vegas is struggling to handle, namely increasing crime rates, shrinking open space, and rising housing cost," it stated.¹⁴

It seems that every week a news story appeared in local and statewide newspapers highlighting the impact of growth in the county. In September 1997 the *Provo Daily Herald* reported: "New Schools sprouting as Nebo School District Grows." The story noted: "With two new schools and six others under expansion, the district

is among the fastest-growing school districts in a state experiencing a population boom.”¹⁵ The *Salt Lake Tribune* released a story early in 1998 reporting that “Utah County’s new jail is filling up faster than expected.” The county’s facility was built and planned to meet the county’s jail needs well into the next millennium. The report noted: “Commissioner Gary Herbert agreed that the new jail is filling up way ahead of predictions. ‘It is important to stay ahead of the curve. We all recognize the growth in the county. I think it is very important to do what we can to stay on top of the situation,’ Herbert said. ‘This has literally been a fulfillment of the cliché, ‘If they build it, they will come’ he added. ‘It’s not going to stop.’”¹⁶

In August 1998 Utah Valley State College President Kerry D. Romesburg told the *Deseret News* that the former trade school is posting a 12 percent increase in students who have registered for liberal education classes, forcing the school to turn away students for the second consecutive year. He claimed, “It comes down to space. We just don’t have it to accommodate all the students who want to attend.”¹⁷

Locally, even those with traditionally different points of view seem to agree on the problems associated with growing population. Long-term resident and ardent supporter the environment Robert Redford argued: “The rapid and unmanaged growth enveloping the state concerns us. Utah is at a crossroads . . . we still make a choice about what we will develop for our survival, and what we will preserve for our survival.”¹⁸ Former Provo mayor George Stewart stated: “Growth is a mixed blessing that brings its share of problems. Growth can be positive, but it must be controlled, planned and limited at some point.”¹⁹ Gary J. Ransom, Democratic candidate for the Utah House of Representatives District 60 seat in November 1998, believed that the government is not focusing enough on growth-related issues, while incumbent Republican candidate Katherine Bryson stated: “I believe growth has to be addressed by the local government rather than the state government. Counties and cities deal with growth on a face to face basis.” Bryson believed that growth is healthy, but was concerned about its effect on crime and education within the county.²⁰

Among the communities witnessing significant growth during



Cherry Orchard Blossoms. The challenges between preservation and development will focus not only on historic buildings, but Utah Valley's agricultural lands and other natural landscapes as well. (John Telford)

this period, Lindon grew 63 percent from 1990 to 1997. Richard Draper, city council member from 1994 through 1997, highlighted the issue:

Growth during the past decade has forced a change in the social matrix of Lindon. Before 1990, the city still retained much of its rural character. People were attracted to the town primarily by the roomy lot sizes and the right to keep large animals. Their attitudes meshed well with those of the long time residents. Then the boom came. Developers as well as land owners put pressure on the city council to reduce restrictions on lot sizes which resulted in some areas of the city being re-zoned for smaller lots. The majority of citizens became concerned and applied reverse pressure to make sure that most of the city remained zoned for one half acre minimum lots. The community adopted the theme, "a little bit of country." However, development pressures did not leave time to consider how to adopt this theme into the landscape.

Unfortunately the city council was never able to fully consider alternatives such as clustered developments with green space and parks. As a result, Lindon has become part of the general urbanization of Utah county but with larger lots. The attitudes of Lindon's citizens reflects much of other urbanized communities. However, the ideals of country life have positively influenced its citizens to strive for what they perceive as wholesome rural values.²¹

Other communities struggled with the same issue. The 4 June 1998 edition of the *Deseret News* announced: "Provo calls halt to west-side growth: City wants time for decisions on development." The report continued: "The [city] council Tuesday imposed a zoning moratorium prohibiting approval of new subdivisions west of I-15 for the next six months." As was the case in Lindon, developers in Provo were moving so fast that officials did not have time to decide what they wanted the west side of the city to become. Councilwoman Shari Holweg, a west side resident, urged the council to slow down development until the city could come up with guidelines to "protect green space and preserve the area's rural nature."²² The issue was not whether or not development would occur to accommodate the ever-increasing population growth, but how it should be done. All in all, despite their differing political viewpoints and geographical location within the county, growth is one issue most county residents seem to agree needs immediate and thoughtful attention as the county moves into a new century.

As Utah County residents attempt to tackle the current problems associated with rapid growth during the last decades of the twentieth century and make plans for the new decade and beyond, others in the county looked to the past, to the historic buildings and homes that were either neglected or had been torn down in the face of growth. Donna Breckenridge of Lake Shore has been active for a number of years in preservation efforts in the county. As the chair of the Utah County Historic Preservation Commission, she has dedicated herself to countywide projects. Breckenridge notes, "Utah County has a rich historic heritage. From Native Americans to fur traders, early pioneers to those made wealthy by the coming of the railroad, from artists to farmers to miners—all have left us a remembrance of them." Concerned in 1998 that some communities within the county



Autumn Hillside, Utah Lake, Squaw Peak, Wasatch Mountains. (John Telford)

still do not have the foresight to preserve examples of their historic past, she argues, "With today's technology we can restore and preserve these buildings and teach our children respect for them and the values for which they stood."²³

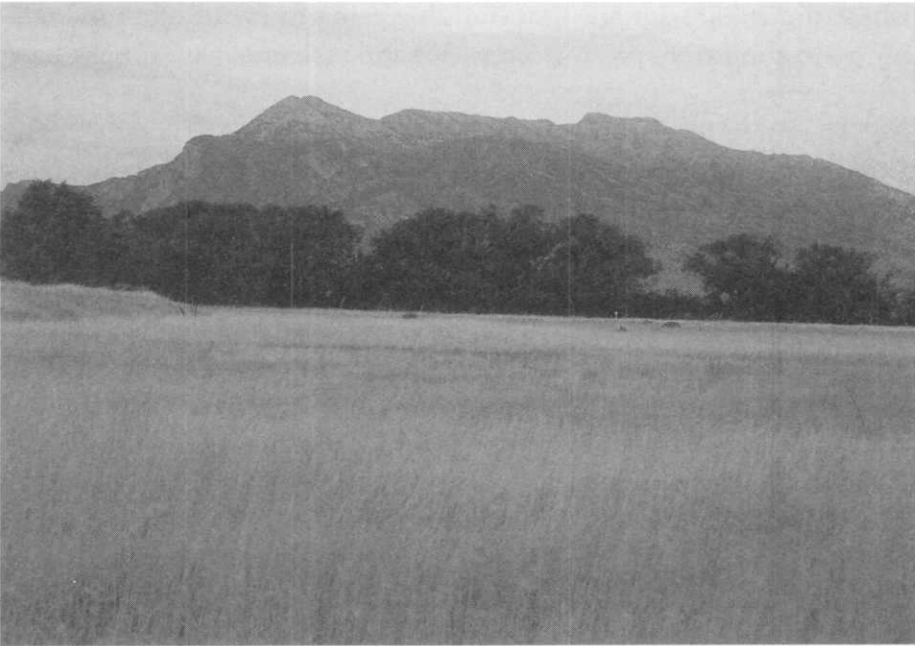
As people traveled along University Avenue in Provo in 1996, they confronted a haunting symbol of the struggle between progress and preservation—the abandoned lower campus of Brigham Young University.²⁴ The Academy Building (later called the Education Building) is the centerpiece of the complex. The building, designed by Brigham Young's son, Joseph Don Carlos Young, was dedicated on 4 January 1892. College Hall was added in 1898, followed by the Training School Building in 1902 and the Missionary-Preparatory Building in 1904. The complex was the mainstay of the school for more than seventy years. The move to the present campus site began when the Maeser Memorial Building was dedicated on "Temple Hill" in 1911. Eventually sold by BYU on 15 May 1975 to a private party, the build-

ings of the old “Lower Campus” remained a source of debate and controversy as they stood for two decades as a silent witness to the tension between the past, present, and future.

Designated by the National Trust for Historic Preservation as the most significant unrestored buildings west of the Mississippi River, the buildings suffered greatly from neglect and vandalism after BYU sold the property in 1975. The property changed hands several times before Provo City finally purchased the property in 1994. City officials contracted with Georgetown Development Company to demolish all the structures to make room for a commercial project; however, they were restrained by a historical preservation easement. Eventually, a cooperative effort with the Brigham Young Academy Foundation (BYAF), a private group dedicated to saving this piece of county history, the Provo City Library Board, and the Utah Heritage Foundation proposed utilizing the property for a new library, estimated to cost more than \$22 million. By late 1998 agreements and work had commenced to implement this proposal. This latest preservation success was part of a larger history of such efforts.

Although sporadic attempts at historic preservation were made in Utah County before 1960, most organized preservation activities occurred after the passage of the federal Historic Preservation Act of 1966. In 1968 Governor Calvin Rampton issued an executive order that set up a state register of Utah history under the supervision of the Utah State Historical Society and, more importantly, established a historic and cultural sites review committee to submit nominations of historic properties for inclusion on the state and national registers. The state legislature expanded efforts in preservation in 1973 when it enacted the Utah Antiquities Act, the purpose of which was to ensure protection of all archaeological sites located on state property.

Preservation efforts before 1960 were usually completed by individuals or by societies such as the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. One of the most notable endeavors in the county was the reconstruction of the pioneer village in Provo’s North Park. Many groups pooled their efforts and coordinated their preservation work both in the state and in Utah County. The Utah Heritage Foundation (UHF) undertook to sponsor a series of historic building tours in various communities in the state in the 1970s, and the Provo Chapter of UHF, for



Mt. Timpanogos with grain field, sunset, Highland. (John Telford)

example, sponsored such a tour in 1974, taking visitors to such landmarks as the Provo LDS Tabernacle.

Other preservation successes also took place in the county. In November 1994, for example, the *Provo Daily Herald* celebrated Payson's efforts to preserve Peteetneet School as a "link to Payson's past." In the following years, the ninety-three-year-old school echoed with the sounds of students it prepared to be contributing members of society. Dr. Gordon S. Taylor, director of the People Preserving Peteetneet, said: "These structures were built with pride. The settlers put their blood, sweat and tears into this building. You don't see many buildings like this anymore."²⁵ The imposing building, located at 10 South Peteetneet Boulevard (600 East), is also a rare surviving example of large structures constructed in response to the educational reforms that swept Utah and the country around the turn of the century when Utah education was primarily based on the small-school system of autonomous districts controlled by local trustees. Although other similar structures have been abandoned or demol-

ished, the 28,000-square-foot building remains standing in incredibly good condition, partly because Payson residents have fought hard to preserve it.

The three-level, stone-and-brick school was constructed in 1901 and opened its doors to students in January 1902. Situated on a two-block, seven-acre hill near the heart of Payson, the building remains the town's most prominent landmark. The structure is also significant for its architecture. The building was designed in the eclectic Victorian Romanesque style by prominent Utah architect Richard C. Watkins. Built with about \$22,000 of public funds, with lumber from the now-defunct John E. Spencer sawmill in Payson Canyon, and with massive rusticated reddish-brown sandstone from Spanish Fork Canyon, the school reflects the community's commitment to both educational reform and architectural excellence. The building's exterior is rich in rounded arches, short smooth columns, Sullivanesque-carved entablatures, and rusticated stone sills, lintels, keystones, and accent stones. Although the walls are of adobe brick, decorative plaster gives the impression that they are made of cinder blocks. On the west entry, around the columns on each side of the door, the faces of two children are carefully carved in stone; one is smiling, and the other is frowning. Peteetneet School is just one of the many historical sites in Utah County preserved through the efforts of dedicated people.

Farther north in the county, the Moyle Historical Park at 606 East 770 North in Alpine contains a fort built in 1866, an old tower, an 1860s granite home (completely restored), an 1870 LDS Relief Society granary, and another pioneer home.

In Lehi, the Lehi Roller Mills represented a \$20,000 investment by shareholders in 1905. The mill boasted the most modern equipment of the time and turned out its first flour in 1906. In American Fork, the Community Presbyterian Church (75 North 100 East) is currently on the National Register of Historic Places. In Pleasant Grove, Pioneer Park (100 East 70 South) contains an 1864 adobe school. When a bell was added in 1880, the school obtained its current name, the "Old Bell School." The building houses relics and pictures of early Pleasant Grove pioneer residents. A little log cabin was

moved to the site and is furnished in traditional pioneer fashion; a historic granary is also located in the park.

Farther west in the county is the Camp Floyd/Fairfield Stagecoach Inn (Highway 73, five miles south of Cedar Fort, Fairfield). An overnight stop on the Overland and Pony Express Trail, the inn was restored by the Utah State Parks and Recreation Commission and was dedicated in 1964.

In Provo is found the Provo Town Square (University Avenue and Center Street). The commercial buildings there were the core of the business community that sprang up on the east side of town in the 1890s. Most buildings date from that decade. A large red building with a clock, the Knight Block, was built in 1900 by Jesse Knight. To the east is the Gates & Snow Furniture Company, which features one of Utah's best pressed-tin building fronts. On the northwest corner is the former Zions Bank, in a building that was originally the Bank of Commerce. Immediately west is a row of period storefronts.

In Springville is found the Kearns Hotel (94 West 200 South). Built in 1892 as a residence and converted into a hotel in 1909, the building has recently reopened its doors. It is on the National Register and garnered the 1991 Utah Heritage Foundation Award for Historical Preservation.

In Mapleton is the historic Town Square at the intersection of Main Street and Maple Street. Dominating the square is the LDS ward building constructed in 1941, the oldest standing church in Mapleton. The park, developed in 1945, is bordered by the town hall, which was built in 1910 as a social hall. Included in the historic center are several pioneer homes showing various architectural styles. The Roswell D. Bird home, built in 1894, is south of the park. The home now belongs to the city, is on the National Register of Historic Places, and houses the activities of the Mapleton Historical Society. Located nearby is an imposing white-frame bungalow-style home built in the 1890s.

The Chieftain Museum in Santaquin (100 South 100 West) was originally a schoolhouse built in 1903. Converted into a museum by Florence Lamb and Donna Bott in 1988, the building is divided according to themes, with one of the rooms containing patriotic memorabilia of veterans of various wars from Santaquin. Visitors and

local residents can find many other historic sites throughout the county for enjoyment.

Besides the effort to preserve important historic buildings, a large amount of scholarly and popular historical writing dealing with aspects of Utah County history has been published. Richard Van Wagoner's history of Lehi, *Lehi: Portraits of a Utah Town*, published in 1990, places Lehi's story into the historical context of Utah and Mormon history. Van Wagoner's efforts to illustrate change, adaptation, and persistence in one Utah County town is a model to follow for writers of the history of any other community in the county. Additionally, articles published in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* by numerous authors have deepened the understanding of Utah County's past. Among others, the efforts of Thomas Alexander, D. Robert Carter, Max Evans, Elizabeth D. Gee, Joel C. Janetski, and Beth Olsen focus on county-related topics.

These works, combined with the efforts of other community members working at the local level to preserve buildings, artifacts, personal histories, and other documents of the past, have richly benefited long-time residents as well as newcomers to the county. Local history organizations and preservation institutions and societies like the Utah County Historic Preservation Committee and the Utah County Historical Society provide vehicles for members of the community to correlate activities that not only benefit the present inhabitants of Utah County but also those yet unborn and an ever-increasing number of newcomers who do not know the story of the county's past.

As home developments replaced orchards, as new business, educational, and medical facilities replaced fields, and as newcomers became neighbors, county residents faced the dilemma of how to preserve the past, find room to grow in the present, and plan for their children and grandchildren's needs in the future. At century's end, county residents reflected on the familiar landscape—on place. During the last 8,000 years or so, it was human inhabitants who reacted to major environmental change in the region. During the last century, the situation has been reversed, and it is now primarily the environment that reacts to human influence. The future for Utah County will almost certainly be more of the same; the only question

regards the magnitude and direction of change and how much the citizens can and will do to influence the outcome in a purposeful way. It remains to be seen how adept local, county, state, and federal governments will prove to be at balancing economic goals with the preservation of the natural landscape and the county's historical past.

As the county prepared for election day in November 1998, a local paper's headline read: "Growth and People: Utah's voters must deal with problems caused by the state's huge population influx. But will they vote?"²⁶ The direction of the county will depend upon many forces, but the citizens of the county, both old and new, have a right to voice their feelings as we end one century and begin another one. Among those doing so is Carol Mellor, a Lehi City council member who knows the reality of the recent past, the current statistics, and the future predictions about countywide growth and, in particular, what could happen in Lehi. Mellor says of growth: "It's inevitable. We don't have a choice. We're in an area that has the most potential usable land of any community in north Utah County." Yet Mellor also says thoughtfully, "We have much to preserve," and suggests that a community like Park City may be a model for some of the communities in Utah County—where the old is preserved and is tied in with the new around it.²⁷

ENDNOTES

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3. Copy of broadcast made available through Utah News Clip, Inc., Salt Lake City.

4. *Provo Daily Herald*, 4 December 1997.

5. *Deseret News*, 6 January 1997.

6. *Deseret News*, 2 February 1997.

7. *Deseret News*, 3 June 1997.

8. *Deseret News*, 24 October 1997.

9. *Provo Daily Herald*, 17 October 1997.

10. Ibid.
11. *Deseret News*, 20 August 1998.
12. *Provo Daily Herald*, 18 September 1997.
13. *Deseret News*, 13 January 1997.
14. *Deseret News*, 5 January 1998.
15. *Provo Daily Herald*, 20 September 1997.
16. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 February 1998.
17. *Deseret News*, 19 August 1998.
18. "Redford Family Donates Conservation Easement to Utah Open Lands," *North Fork Preservation Alliance Newsletter* 1 (Spring 1998): 4
19. *Daily Universe*, 5 December 1994.
20. *Daily Universe*, 26 October 1998.
21. Richard Draper to Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 27 October 1998, in author's possession.
22. *Deseret News*, 4 June 1998.
23. Donna Breckenridge, interview with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, 22 October 1998, transcript in author's possession.
24. Summary based on L. Douglas Smoot, "Fact Sheet: A New High-Tech Provo City Library at Preserved Historic Academy Square," March 1998, in author's possession.
25. *Provo Daily Herald*, 4 November 1994.
26. *Daily Universe*, 26 October 1998.
27. *Provo Daily Herald*, 21 December 1997.

Appendix

The following summary of the county is based on *Utah Valley Community Profiles 1995* (Provo: Utah Valley Economic Development Association, 1995), which highlights the incorporated communities in the county. In 1998 they were: Alpine, American Fork, Cedar Fort, Cedar Hills, Elk Ridge, Genola, Goshen, Highland, Lehi, Lindon, Mapleton, Orem, Payson, Pleasant Grove, Provo, Salem, Santaquin, Spanish Fork, Springville, Vineyard, and Woodland Hills). Although most of the statistics are based on the 1990 census, a few additional updates are included based on phone interviews with each community in September 1998.

The population of Alpine, Utah's sixty-third-largest community (incorporated on 19 January 1855), in the 1990 census stood at 3,492 (3,455 whites, 15 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 14 Hispanics, 11 American Indians, and 3 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 6,000. Recreational facilities included three parks, three covered picnic facilities, three baseball diamonds, and two soccer fields. The median home price (1995) was \$280,000; median age, 18.9 years; median household size, 4.54 people.

The population of American Fork, Utah's fifteenth-largest community (incorporated 4 June 1853), in the 1990 census stood at 15,696 (15,334 whites, 121 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 66 American Indians, and 8 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 22,500. Recreational facilities included seventeen parks, five covered picnic facilities, nine baseball diamonds, one boat harbor, one swimming pool, one library, one golf course, eight tennis courts, one rodeo ground, and one horse-racing track. The median home price (1995) was \$108,503; median age, 23.1 years; median household size, 3.7 people.

The population of Cedar Fort, Utah's 182nd-largest community (incorporated on 17 May 1965), in the 1990 census stood at 284 (280 whites, 2 Asians or Pacific Islanders, and 2 others). The estimated population in 1998 was 289. Recreational facilities included one park, one pavilion, and one tennis court. The median home price (1995) was \$118,861; median age, 27.3 years; median household size, 3.69 people.

The population of Cedar Hills, Utah's 125th-largest community (incorporated on October 1978), in the 1990 census stood at 769 (737 whites, 3 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 13 Hispanics, and 9 American Indians). The estimated population in 1998 was 2,000. Recreational facilities included one park, one pavilion, and one tennis court. The median home price (1995) was \$157,811; median age, 16 years; and median household size, 4.78 people.

The population of Elk Ridge, Utah's 124th-largest community (incorporated on 22 December 1976), in the 1990 census stood at 771 (767 whites, 15 Hispanics, and 2 American Indians). The estimated population in 1998 was 1,600. Recreational facilities included one baseball diamond and one picnic pavilion. The median home price (1995) was \$175,143; median age, 16.7 years; and median household size, 5.21 people.

The population of Genola, Utah's 123rd-largest community (incorporated on 29 December 1935), in the 1990 census stood at 803 (752 whites, 63 Hispanics, and 11 American Indians). The estimated population in 1998 was 1,000. Recreational facilities included one park, two baseball diamonds, and one rodeo arena. The median



Cedar Hills Mayor Elizabeth Johnson above the community on 23 May 1997. Along with many other towns and cities within the county, Cedar Hills witnessed unprecedented growth during the last decades of the twentieth century. (Matthew R. Smith, *Daily Herald*)

home price (1995) was \$80,092; median age, 17.8 years; and median household size, 4.49 people.

The population of Goshen, Utah's 142nd-largest community (incorporated in 1910), in the 1990 census stood at 578 (549 whites, 42 Hispanics, and 1 American Indian). The estimated population in 1998 was 750. Recreational facilities included one park, one school yard, five baseball diamonds, and a field that could be used for either football or soccer. The median home price (1995) was \$80,092; median age, 31.4 years; and median household size, 2.88 people.

The population of Highland, Utah's forty-fourth-largest community (incorporated on 13 July 1977), in the 1990 census stood at 5,002 (4,956 whites, 20 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 60 Hispanics, and 5 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 7,000. Recreational facilities included two parks, two ballfields, and one covered pavilion. The median home price (1995) was \$183,781; median age, 17 years; median household size, 5.03 people.

The population of Lehi, Utah's thirty-third-largest community (incorporated on 5 February 1852), in the 1990 census stood at 8,475

(8,285 whites, 83 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 163 Hispanics, 41 American Indians, and 6 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 14,981. Recreational facilities included three parks, six ballfields, one library, two museums, six tennis courts, one swimming pool, and one rodeo ground. The median home price (1995) was \$118,861; median age, 23.6 years; median household size, 3.58 people.

The population of Lindon, Utah's 58th-largest community (incorporated on 5 March 1924), in the 1990 census stood at 3,818 (3,758 whites, 21 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 56 Hispanics, and 3 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 9,000. Recreational facilities included three parks, five baseball diamonds, one covered pavilion and one bowling alley. The median home price (1995) was \$161,412; median age, 20.2 years; median household size, 4.27 people.

The population of Mapleton, Utah's sixty-first-largest community (incorporated on 1 April 1948), in the 1990 census stood at 3,572 (3,890 whites, 6 Asians or Pacific Islanders, and 24 others). The estimated population in 1998 was 5,000. Recreational facilities included two parks, ten baseball diamonds, four pavilions, one recreation hall, one canyon park, one multipurpose sports park, and two tennis courts. The median home price (1995) was \$188,837; median age, 22.8 years; median household size, 3.97 people.

The population of Orem, Utah's fifth-largest community (incorporated in 1919), in the 1990 census stood at 67,561 (65,121 whites, 1,041 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 2,040 Hispanics, and 88 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 86,711. Recreational facilities included twelve parks, twenty-one covered picnic facilities, twelve baseball diamonds, twenty-four tennis courts, six walking paths, one golf course, one library, five soccer/ball fields, two commercial fitness facilities, one recreation center for indoor basketball, tennis, racquetball, and volleyball courts, a swimming pool, and a shooting range. The median home price (1995) was \$148,722; median age, 21.7 years; median household size, 3.81 people.

The population of Payson, Utah's thirtieth-largest community (incorporated on 21 January 1853), in the 1990 census stood at 9,510 (9,186 whites, 25 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 400 Hispanics, 31 American Indians, and 3 blacks). The estimated population in 1998

was 14,000. Recreational facilities included three parks, six covered picnic facilities, seven baseball diamonds, seven tennis courts, one swimming pool, one city-owned golf course, one library, and five football fields. The median home price (1995) was \$97,455; median age, 21.3 years; median household size, 3.71 people.

The population of Pleasant Grove, Utah's twentieth-largest community (incorporated in 1855), in the 1990 census stood at 13,496 (13,218 whites, 60 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 330 Hispanics, 45 American Indians, and 11 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 20,000. Recreational facilities included seven parks, one library, two tennis courts, one soccer field, and one recreation complex, with facilities for basketball, volleyball, roller skating, and other sports. The median home price (1995) was \$117,004; median age, 21.6 years; median household size, 3.88 people.

The population of Provo, Utah's third-largest community (incorporated in April 1850), in the 1990 census stood at 90,739 (83,000 whites, 2,374 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 3,623 Hispanics, 929 American Indians, and 229 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 110,000. Recreational facilities included twenty-eight parks, sixteen covered picnic facilities, fifteen tennis courts, one soccer field, two ice rinks, four swimming pools, three golf courses, one public library, and seven baseball and softball diamonds. The median age in 1995 was 22.7 years and median household size was 3.32 people.

The population of Salem, Utah's seventy-fourth-largest community (incorporated on 10 May 1920), in the 1990 census stood at 2,284 (2,234 whites, 8 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 62 Hispanics, and 9 American Indians). The estimated population in 1998 was 3,800. Recreational facilities included five parks, two covered picnic facilities, six baseball or softball diamonds, one tennis court, and one soccer field. The median home price (1995) was \$112,558; median age, 19.7 years; median household size, 4.00 people.

The population of Santaquin, Utah's seventy-second-largest community (incorporated on 4 January 1932), in the 1990 census stood at 2,386 (2,322 whites, 6 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 132 Hispanics, 12 American Indians, and 46 others). The estimated population in 1998 was 3,500. Recreational facilities included three parks, five ball parks, one picnic pavilion, one canyon park, one tennis

court, one boxing club, one canyon camping area, one pioneer museum, and one public library. The median home price (1995) was \$80,092; median age, 22.3 years; median household size, 3.63 people.

The population of Spanish Fork, Utah's twenty-seventh-largest community (incorporated on 17 January 1855), in the 1990 census stood at 11,272 (11,108 whites, 28 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 247 Hispanics, 48 American Indian, and 1 black). The estimated population in 1998 was 19,000. Recreational facilities included four parks, one public library, three covered picnic facilities, twelve tennis courts, one municipal golf course, one swimming pool, four soccer fields, nine baseball diamonds, and four volleyball courts. The median home price (1995) was \$102,048; median age, 24.1 years; median household size, 3.45 people.

The population of Springville, Utah's eighteenth-largest community (incorporated on 4 April 1853), in the 1990 census stood at 13,950 (13,678 whites, 81 Asians or Pacific Islanders, 258 Hispanics, 99 American Indians, and 10 blacks). The estimated population in 1998 was 17,802. Recreational facilities included five city parks, three canyon parks, twelve ball fields, nine covered pavilions, one public library, three tennis courts, one indoor swimming pool, one municipal golf course, one art museum, one Daughters of Utah Pioneers museum, one art park, one art shop, and one senior citizens center. The median home price (1995) was \$104,637; median age, 24.8 years; median household size, 3.5 people.

The population of Vineyard, Utah's 211th-largest community (incorporated on 11 May 1989), in the 1990 census stood at 151 (143 whites, 3 Asians or Pacific Islanders, and 5 Hispanics). The estimated population in 1998 was 155. Recreational facilities included one park, one pavilion, one volleyball court, one baseball diamond, one basketball court, and one tennis court. The median home price (1995) was \$110,473; median age, 24.5 years; median household size, 4.19 people.

The population of Woodland Hill, Utah's 179th-largest community (incorporated on 14 December 1979), in the 1990 census stood at 301 (288 whites, 3 Asians or Pacific Islanders, and 10 Hispanics). The estimated population in 1998 was 1,200. The median home price

(1995) was \$175,143; median age, 24.5 years; and median household size, 4.78 people.

The population of the unincorporated areas of the county stood at 12,604 in 1990. In 1992, the population of the unincorporated areas slipped to 12,518.

In 1970 the county population stood at 137,776; by 1980 it stood at 218,106; by 1990 it stood at 263,590; and by 1994 it stood at 299,000. Nine county communities (Provo, Orem, American Fork, Springville, Pleasant Grove, Spanish Fork, Payson, Lehi, and Highland) were among Utah's largest forty-four communities. Additionally, five towns (Lindon, Mapleton, Alpine, Santaquin, and Salem) were among the seventy-four largest communities in the state.

At the end of 1997, the estimated population stood at 324,322, second in the state.

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